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The "Rhetorica Ecclesiastica" of Agostino Valiero: A Translation and Commentary.

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**THE RHETORICA ECCLESIASTICA OF AGOSTINO VALIERO:
A TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY**

A Dissertation

**Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy**

in

The Department of Speech

by

**Charles Sumner Mudd, Jr.
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M. A., Louisiana State University, 1948
June, 1953**

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ABSTRACT

The historian of Speech Education, setting out to investigate the vastly important but seriously neglected field of preaching, finds cause to regret the lack of any complete history of the art. It is gratifying, however, to note a growing awareness of the need for such a history. Within the past few years there has appeared an increasing number of rhetorical studies combined with translations, making available in English significant works in the history of European speech education. A study of the nature of the one presented here cannot offer an exhaustive analysis of the ars rhetorica or the ars concionandi of the sixteenth century. Rather is it the purpose of this translation to examine the rhetorical theory of Agostino Valiero as it appears in his late sixteenth century text book on preaching, to fit the book into its proper rhetorical and historical perspective, and to make the work available for the first time in the English language.

Agostino Valiero was recognized by his contemporaries as a man of wide learning, of many virtues, and of great talent as a preacher. His broad background of learning furnished him with a wide range of materials. Among the writers on rhetoric, he was familiar with at least the works of Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Quintilian and Saint Augustine. Certain similarities with the Rhetorica

ad Herrennium point to an acquaintance with that work as well.

Extensive references in the Rhetorica Ecclesiastica indicate Valiero to have been very familiar with the writings of the fathers of the Church and many other ecclesiastical and lay writers, classical, medieval and renaissance. Biblical quotations in the Rhetorica Ecclesiastica are virtually numberless.

The Rhetorica Ecclesiastica, a text book on pulpit oratory written by Valiero for use in his own and other diocesan seminaries, shows itself to be a combination of the classical rhetoric, the medieval example book and the renaissance rhetoric of style. The basic doctrine is that of Cicero, with Aristotle, Quintilian, and even Saint Augustine being less extensively drawn from, and Plato not at all except for a broad, philosophical point of view. The only medieval contribution to Valiero's theory is in his approach to the problem of scriptural interpretation. Primarily a rhetoric of inventio, the Rhetorica Ecclesiastica devotes 94 of its 153 chapters to inventio, 43 to elocutio, 14 to dispositio, 1 to pronunciatio (actio), and about half a page to memoria.

First published at Verona, in 1573, the Rhetorica Ecclesiastica appeared in at least 26 editions printed in nine major cities of Europe from 1573 to 1851--a span of 278 years. Twenty of these editions appeared before Valiero's death in 1606. The conclusion seems to be warranted that the Rhetorica Ecclesiastica enjoyed a

popularity and exercised an influence of very durable character in the area of preacher training in European seminaries during the latter part of the sixteenth century, the whole of the seventeenth and eighteenth, and at least the first half of the nineteenth centuries.

INTRODUCTION

General Considerations

The source and origin of all Christian preaching is to be found in the teachings of Christ. In spite of this fact, and despite the fact also that "preaching has often had a notable influence upon the general development of literature, and played a great role in popular education,"¹ students of Christian preaching find that there is lacking a complete history of this traditional Christian form of teaching and persuading. This seems to be particularly and unfortunately true of the area and period underlying this study. "Not even at the hands of Italian scholars," say Caplan and King, "has the rich history of Italian preaching - an important branch of Italian, and European, eloquence - received full and adequate treatment. Indeed what Benedetto Croce wrote in 1899 and repeated in 1911 unfortunately still holds true: 'A good history of sacred eloquence in Italy is still wanting, and we even lack monographs on particular periods.' (Saggi sulla letteratura del seicento, Bari 1911, p. 171)."²

This same lack is shown on a more general plane by E. C.

¹ Harry Caplan and Henry J. King, "Italian Tractates on Preaching: A Booklist," Speech Monographs, XVI (September, 1949), 243.

² Ibid.

Dargan:

The history of preaching has not yet been adequately written. A few works, all of them more or less fragmentary and incomplete, deal with the subject as a whole. A larger number, some of them remarkably good and satisfactory, treat of particular epochs or phases of the history; some attention, incidental and often superficial, has been given to preaching by writers of general, ecclesiastical, and literary histories; and this is all.³

Obviously, a study of the nature of the one presented here can not offer in a brief introduction an exhaustive analysis of either the ars rhetorica or the ars concionandi of the sixteenth century. Rather is it intended that by presenting in English the rhetorical theory of one writer of the late sixteenth century, with specific application to the great oratorical field of preaching, some interest may be aroused among students of rhetoric in an area of study most properly belonging to the field of speech but mainly neglected except for an occasional glance from the historian. Tractates on preaching do indeed constitute "a field of literature which has been almost completely neglected by American scholars."⁴

The purpose of this translation, then, is to examine the rhetorical theory of Agostino Valiero as it appears in his late sixteenth century text book on preaching, to fit the book into its proper

³ Edwin Charles Dargan, A History of Preaching (New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1905), I, p. 3.

⁴ Caplan and King.

historical and rhetorical perspective, and to make the work available for the first time in the English language. Two facts will become evident in the course of this introduction. First, historically the Rhetorica Ecclesiastica must be understood in the light of the "Counter-Reformation" and the Council of Trent. Second, rhetorically the book is a product of the times in which it was written.

In The Decay of Modern Preaching, J. P. Mahaffy says that it is false to assume a difference between sacred rhetoric and any other kind of rhetoric.⁵ According to Evans, a contrary notion had developed in the homiletical theory of at least one country by the end of the sixteenth century, for in England, preaching was definitely separated from other oratory and placed above it as an art.⁶ But in spite of this there seems to be little justification for the concept of ecclesiastical rhetoric as an art distinct from any other kind of rhetoric. At least, such is obviously not the approach of Valiero in his interpretation of the Aristotelian theory of persuasion. It would be an error, then, as far as Valiero is concerned, to say that speaking is either deliberative, concerned with expediency, forensic,

⁵ Cited by Harry Caplan, "A Late Medieval Tractate on Preaching," Studies in Honor of James Albert Winans (New York: The Century Co., 1925), p. 61.

⁶ Marsee Fred Evans, A Study in the Development of a Theory of Homiletics in England from 1534 to 1692, Unpublished doctoral dissertation, State University of Iowa, 1932, I, p. 129.

delving into points of law, epideictic, dealing with deeds, or ecclesiastic, drawing upon the resources of theology for materials. On the contrary, ecclesiastical rhetoric itself may be deliberative, forensic or epideictic, as Valiero points out early in his treatise, but it is not to be considered a fourth genus or mode of rhetoric, distinct from the three outlined by Aristotle. It is rhetoric in this Aristotelian sense applied to one more situation in which persuasion is required. For again as Valiero points out, even though he deals with something as vital to his audience as the salvation of the listener's soul, still the preacher must be persuasive. The situation ordinarily takes place in a pulpit and is commonly called preaching.

Augustine, the first of the Christian writers on preaching,⁷ was followed by a long line of homiletical theorists which certainly did not stop with Valiero. As a matter of fact, Valiero offers little in the way of original theory. He does not teach theories of persuasion. Instead, he applies the concepts and rules of Aristotle, Cicero and Quintilian to another speaking situation. He is both the teacher teaching to preach, and the preacher teaching to preach. As an honest teacher and a zealous preacher his purpose is persuasion, not display. Thus, it is not strange to find in the writing of this prelate a maturity and stability which brushes aside the

⁷ Except for brief, scattered remarks, and among these some by Saint Paul, the exemplar of Christian preaching.

fleeting and the fanciful, which condemns ostentation and conceit, and persists in the single insistence that the salvation of souls and not the personal success of the speaker is the goal of ecclesiastical rhetoric. Such an attitude does absolutely no harm to any aspect of Aristotelian theory.

The Rhetorical and Historical Backgrounds of
The Rhetorica Ecclesiastica

By the end of the sixteenth century, the flower of the Renaissance was a little overripe. The petals were just about to fall, giving way to the fruit that was to mature into what we call modern times. This was particularly true of the discipline of rhetoric. For many centuries, an almost pathological absorption in elocutio had led to ridiculous excesses in oratory.⁸ Such a preoccupation with this single canon of rhetoric led to a confusion between the concepts of rhetoric and poetic.⁹ Poets imitated orators, and orators imitated poets and both suffered.¹⁰ Further damage was done when Peter

⁸ Jacob Burckhardt, The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy, translated by S.G.C. Middlemore (Vienna: The Phaidon Press, 1937), pp. 119-123, describes instances of the sort.

⁹ Charles Sears Baldwin, Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1922), p. 39.

¹⁰ Donald Lemen Clark, Rhetoric and Poetry in the Renaissance (New York: Columbia University Press, 1922), p. 41.

Ramus failed to distinguish accurately between what belongs properly to logic and what to rhetoric.¹¹ As a result of this confusion, rhetoric was robbed of what are in reality her two most important canons, inventio and dispositio.

At the same time, however, rhetoric was being resuscitated in the completeness and vigor of its classical form by such writers as George of Trebizond, Joannes Caesarius and Bartolomeo Cavalcanti, and the two kinds of rhetoric, classical and stylistic, flourished side by side. This fact makes it much easier to understand the nature, scope and content of the work translated here, for it is not purely classical in approach, although with one exception the theory is classical;¹² nor is it purely stylistic, even though the author was himself a renowned stylist. His method of exposition is by example and his method of teaching is by imitation.

Valiero was not a professional rhetorician. He was a bishop of the Church and one of the most learned men of his time. Moreover, his reputation for piety and zeal was widespread. Thus, in writing for the young clergy studying for the priesthood in his own and other diocesan seminaries, he was interested, first and last, in the salvation

¹¹ Norman E. Nelson, "Peter Ramus and the Confusion of Logic, Rhetoric and Poetry," University of Michigan Contributions in Modern Philology, II (April, 1947), 5.

¹² Valiero's method of interpreting scripture is medieval in origin.

of souls through effective preaching. Hence his vigorous rejection of anything that gave suspicion of ostentation.

Baldwin speaks of the two historic conceptions of rhetoric.¹³

On the one hand, it is conceived by Aristotle as the art of giving effectiveness to truth, and on the other, it is looked upon by the sophists as the art of giving effectiveness to the speaker. Valiero turns in great disgust from the latter interpretation and vehemently advances the former as the only ethical use of tongue and pen. To his support he calls upon the Fathers of the Church, Paul, Lactantius, and Augustine, and they testify unfailingly in his behalf.

Valiero, then, sought to avoid the excesses and faults of the sophistic that was so prevalent in his own time. Preaching has always been particularly susceptible to extravagances of style. Consequently, it was a constant concern of homiletic to exorcise sophistic by a valid rhetoric.¹⁴ This is precisely what the author of the Rhetorica Ecclesiastica has attempted to do.

In a sense, Valiero may be compared with Ramus. The Frenchman was not an innovator. Rather was he an adapter, an interpreter, and a reformer. He recognized the fact that through the overstressing of elocutio, and the disregarding of inventio and dispositio, the two

¹³ P. 3.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 73.

latter canons had been lost to rhetoric. Ramus claimed that properly they belonged to logic, when they had only been abrogated by logic. However, in that it was an ex post facto claim, Ramus made no innovation, but rather adapted to a situation. Very much the same may be said of Valiero. He was not an innovator. Indeed, he added nothing to the theory he taught. Instead, he adapted and interpreted the classical theories of persuasion (as Ramus had done) in the light of his own needs and times. Where Ramus sought an instrument of inquiry, Valiero looked for an instrument of persuasion. Ramus was building a logic, Valiero a rationale of pulpit oratory. Valiero succeeded, but Ramus failed.

In rhetorical conspectus, the Rhetorica Ecclesiastica would be described as a combination of the classical rhetoric, the medieval example book, and the renaissance rhetoric of style.

Among the many problems that confronted the Council of Trent was that of the training of the clergy. The universities of Europe had been the cause of the decline and disappearance of most of the cathedral and episcopal schools. As a result, the immediate pre-Tridentine period saw a general decadence of institutes for clerical training. Moreover, the universities themselves had, from a theological point of view, suffered a severe decline.

¹⁵ Joseph Godfrey Cox, The Administration of Seminaries (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America, 1931), p.21.

Many of the Italian schools were deeply infected with infidelity, particularly the University of Padua, which for more than a century had been notorious as the focus of atheism. . . . A great number of the professors taught . . . errors, and pretended that though contrary to revelation they might yet be taught as philosophically true . . . ; and to counteract the dangerous spirit prevalent in the universities it was . . . decreed that students aspiring to sacred orders should not follow the course of philosophy and poetry for more than five years, unless at the same time they studied theology and canon law. But little or no fruit was produced by this decree, and . . . at a later period the "great and pernicious abuses," which were admitted as loudly demanding reform, were formally declared by a commission of Cardinals to have arisen mainly from the impious teaching tolerated in the public schools.¹⁶

On this commission of Cardinals, Cox says that their first proposal was the restoration of the cathedral schools.¹⁷ The need was answered instead by a soldier-priest who founded a new order in 1540 for the express purpose of educating young men. Ignatius Loyola, founder of the Society of Jesus, established at Rome the German College. Gregory XIII officially published its constitutions in 1584.¹⁸ Thus, in the pre-Tridentine period, in the midst of the general decline of institutions for clerical training, there arose one from which blazed forth "a light which guided the Fathers of the

¹⁶ Augusta Theodosia Drane, Christian Schools and Scholars (London: Burns Oates & Washbourne Ltd., 1924), pp. 654-655.

¹⁷ P. 22. For an excellent brief survey of the curriculum in the seminary, see Theodore Heck, The Curriculum of the Major Seminary in Relation to Contemporary Conditions (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America, 1935), pp. 3-21.

¹⁸ Cox, p. 22.

Council of Trent in their deliberations on clerical training. . . ."¹⁹

A further problem of great importance to the Fathers of the Council of Trent was the serious condition of preaching in the Europe of mid-sixteenth century. Preachers uninstructed in holy scripture were stigmatized by the Council, and as a remedy for their ignorance, it was recommended that chairs for instruction in this discipline be established in all cathedrals, colleges, monasteries and convents.²⁰ Other abuses noted by the Council in relation to preaching were, first, that preachers "improvises et sans mission" were appearing in the pulpits in the place of negligent bishops and pastors.²¹ Second, and still more reprehensible, were the preachers who used their recitation of invented miracles as a means of extracing money from simple and ignorant folk.²² The remedy suggested by the Council for these ills was a greater zeal on the part of bishops and priests for preaching and the apprehension and punishment of the preacher who entered the pulpit with no authority.²³

Valiero was very much a part of the Church's efforts to repair

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ A. Michel, Les Decrets du Concile de Trente (Paris: Libraire Letouzey et Ane, 1938), p. 10.

²¹ Ibid., p. 11.

²² Ibid. - For a more detailed description of these abuses, see Burckhardt, pp. 247-248.

²³ Michel, p. 11.

her self-inflicted internal injuries. Sent by Gregory XIII as nuncie into Germany, Austria and Belgium, he worked for the re-establishment in those countries of the ancient discipline of the Church and for the execution of the decrees of the Council of Trent. Particularly did he exhort the Archbishops and Bishops of the countries he visited to look to the religious and scientific education of their clergy, and unless they already had in their dioceses seminaries for the education of young men to the priesthood, to establish such institutions promptly.²⁴ Thus a spirit of reform, increasing in intensity, pervaded the Church of the sixteenth century,²⁵ and led to an improvement both in preaching and in the teaching of preaching.

Moreover, as a very close friend of Cardinal Charles Borromeo, Archbishop of Milan, great reformer, zealous worker for the promulgation of the edicts of the Council of Trent, Valiero was brought very close to the work of bettering the preaching of his day, and of improving the teaching of this Christian art. Borromeo put great emphasis on preaching. In the program of his seminary, three hours a day were devoted to practice preaching in the refectory.²⁶ It was at his behest

²⁴ Augustin Thexiner, Histoire des Institutions d'Education Ecclesiastique, translated from the German by Jean Cohen (Paris: Debecourt, Libraire-Editeur, 1841), I, pp. 286-287.

²⁵ For a thoroughly detailed account, much too extensive to outline here, see Ludwig Pastor, The History of the Popes, edited by Ralph Francis Kerr (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Truebner & Co., Ltd., 1908-30), XVII-XXI, passim.

²⁶ Heck, p. 21.

that Valiero undertook the writing of the Rhetorica Ecclesiastica.²⁷

Dinouart attributes the plan as well as the idea of the book to

Borromeo.²⁸

The Life and Works of Agostino Valiero

The author of the Rhetorica Ecclesiastica was born in Venice²⁹ on April 7, 1531,³⁰ a member of one of the most prominent families of that city. His early schooling took place in the city of his birth under Bernardo Feliciano, Batista Egnazio and Marziale Rota.³¹ At the age of sixteen Valiero left Venice to attend the University of Padua where he studied belles-lettres under Lazzaro Bonamico and philosophy under Bassanio Lando and Marcantonio Geneva.³² Also at Padua at the time, and one of Valiero's professors, was Bernadino Tomitano.³³

²⁷ Appendix, infra, p. 317.

²⁸ J. A. T. Dinouart, "La Rhetorique du Predicateur," Nouvelle Encyclopedie Theologique (Paris: Jacques-Paul Migne, 1851), Volume VI, Appendix I, column 957. However, Valiero says that he outlined the book himself. Appendix, ibid.

²⁹ Enrico Carusi, "Valler (Valiero), Agostino," Enciclopedia Italiana, XXXIV, p. 922, says Valiero was born in Legnato.

³⁰ Carusi gives 1530 as the year of Valiero's birth.

³¹ Girolamo Tiraboschi, Storia della Letteratura Italiana (Second Modena Edition; Modena: Presso la Societa Tipografia, 1791), VII, Part II, p. 392.

³² Dinouart, col. 955.

³³ Tiraboschi, loc. cit.

Valiero early distinguished himself both for his intellect and his industry.³⁴ Going beyond the study of philosophy at Padua, he worked in the fields of theology and canon law and took the doctor's degree in both faculties.³⁵ Outside the areas of philosophy, theology and canon law, commentators on the life of Valiero make no mention of his activities at the University of Padua. Nevertheless, even without the assurance of those who have considered the prelate's life, we may know that no man of Valiero's academic and cultural background, living in the culminating years of the Renaissance, a product of the University of Padua, would lack a complete background of training in the art and science of rhetoric. Moreover, Valiero's own writing shows evidence of such great familiarity with the works of the classical rhetoricians that we must conclude he had received more than cursory training in that discipline. Dinouart assures us further, that the author of the three books on Ecclesiastical Rhetoric approached his task with a thorough knowledge of his field.³⁶

³⁴ According to Jean-Pierre Nicéron, Memoires pour Servir a l'Histoire des Hommes Illustres dans le Re'publique des Lettres (Paris: Briasson, 1728), V, p. 244, he himself says that at the age of eighteen he composed the funeral oration for his master Bonamico, but Nicéron tells us further that Valiero must have remembered incorrectly because according to the chronology of professors at Padua, Bonamico did not die until February 10, 1552, at which time Valiero would have been twenty-one years of age.

³⁵ Dinouart, col. 955.

³⁶ Ibid., col. 958.

Valiero's choice of Padua as a university was in actual fact a matter of little choice. The relationship between the University and the Venetian government was a close one. When Padua came under the dominion of Venice, the patricians of the city "took a keen and intelligent interest in their new-won University, which was thereafter attended by a large portion of the youth of the old Venetian houses."³⁷ More than that, the citizens of the republic "were forbidden to study elsewhere than at Padua, and eventually a period of study there was required as a qualification for the exercise of public functions at Venice."³⁸

Although it is impossible to determine the precise significance of such an event, a very interesting occurrence took place during Valiero's last year of residence at Padua. Briefly, it consists in the presence at the University during that year and the two following of Thomas Wilson, who had but two years earlier published his Arte of Rhetorique.³⁹ Of course it cannot be said whether Wilson ever knew or even met the young Italian scholar. Greatest chances are to the

³⁷ William Harrison Woodward, Studies in Education during the Age of the Renaissance, 1400-1600 (Cambridge: The University Press, 1924), p. 7.

³⁸ Hastings Rashdall, The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1895), II, p. 21.

³⁹ G. H. Mair, (editor), Wilson's Arte of Rhetorique, 1560 (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1909), Introduction, p. x.

contrary for several reasons. Valiero was at the time interested more in philosophical and theological studies than in rhetoric. Then too, it would seem that a young man of Valiero's piety and orthodoxy would tend to avoid a meeting with a heretic, one who had fled England⁴⁰ in order to escape the zealous and forceful efforts of Queen Mary to bring the English Church back into its accustomed relationship to Rome. Finally, it is to be doubted that at this time the thought of writing a text book in preaching had yet occurred to Valiero. Nevertheless, countless interesting speculations might be made.

In 1555, Paul IV was elevated to the throne of Peter, and in accordance with custom, the Venetian Senate selected a group of notable gentlemen of that city to travel to Rome as ambassadors to the newly elected Pontiff for the purpose of offering to him the congratulations of the Venetian republic on his elevation. Valiero was a member of that group. This would be no small honor for a young man of twenty-four years. It gives indication of the extent to which he was already recognized by the men of his own day as a person of outstanding ability and promise.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Niceron, p. 244, says of Valiero's work at Padua that his progress was so remarkable that it soon came to be held as a common belief that he would be a great man. Tiraboschi, p. 392, says that in every kind of learning, and in science as well, his progress was so rapid that he gained the admiration and esteem of his fellow students no less than his teachers.

Among the ambassadors to Paul IV was Bernardo Navagero, Valiero's maternal uncle, who played an important part in the young scholar's life. Himself a man of great esteem, Bishop of Verona and later Cardinal, Navagero took a great interest in his nephew Agostino. In him Valiero had an "excellent guide and a lively stimulus to studies."⁴²

Nicéron tells us of an incident that gives further evidence of the future prelate's acumen. When Valiero reached the age of twenty-five, he became eligible for a place among the Sages des Ordres, a group of five young men of outstanding quality chosen to study the affairs of the Republic and prepare themselves for government service. Through his own efforts, and with the help of no one, Valiero overcame the fear and timidity that held him back and won one of the coveted places. Nicéron stresses the point that no one spoke in Valiero's behalf, but that the writings he had produced even at this early age spoke for him.⁴³

In 1558, Giacobo Foscari, professor of Moral Philosophy at Venice, was made Advocate General. The duty of choosing his successor fell to the Venetian Senate, and in accordance with their custom of filling the post with a Venetian of noble birth, they selected

⁴² Tiraboschi, p. 392.

⁴³ Pp. 244-245.

the twenty-eight year old Agostino Valiero.

While Valiero was teaching Moral Philosophy in Venice and producing some of the astounding literary output that marks his career,⁴⁴ his uncle, Navagero, was made a Cardinal - in February, 1561. At the instance of the older man, Valiero obtained leave from the Venetian Senate to absent himself from his teaching to accompany his uncle to Rome. He remained in Rome almost a year, and it was during this stay in the Eternal City that he became acquainted with Charles Borromeo. The two men became very close friends. One of the favorite activities of the great Cardinal was his Accademia Vaticana. Borromeo gathered around him a group of men with interests similar to his own, and they met several times a week at the Vatican at a late hour in the evening. The purpose of the meeting was academic discussion and mutual encouragement and instruction. In reality, it served as a recreation for Borromeo after his wearisome daily labors. Among the group were Silvio Antonio, one of the private secretaries of Pius IV and an accomplished latinist, Francesco Alciati, Carlo Visconti, Guido Ferreri, Tolomeo Galli, Francesco Gonzaga and Agostino Valiero, all of whom were raised to the purple in due time. Besides these, there were Ugo Boncompagni (the future Gregory XIII from whom Valiero received the red hat), Sperone Speroni and Pietro de

⁴⁴ See below, pp. 21-23.

Lonate.⁴⁵

When Valiero's uncle, Cardinal Navagero, was made papal Legate to attend the Council of Trent with Cardinal Moroni in 1562,⁴⁶ Valiero accompanied the older man and stayed with him for several months. Returning to Venice thereafter, he reoccupied his teaching position and held it until 1565. In this year, Valiero entered Holy Orders. Before leaving Rome to attend the Council, Navagero had been made Bishop of Verona by Pius IV, but on his return, finding himself ill-suited to the rigors of the episcopate because of poor health, the Cardinal prevailed upon the Pope to appoint his nephew co-adjutor of the diocese. Navagero never learned of Valiero's appointment to the post, for he died soon after making his request. News that his petition had been granted arrived shortly after his death, May 27, 1565.

The story of Valiero's episcopate is one of exemplary conduct. Yet this alone did not satisfy him as a means of instructing his people, for he showed great zeal in the matter of preaching, regarding it as an essential function of his pastoral duty.⁴⁷ Moreover,

⁴⁵ This description of the noctes Vaticanae of Charles Borromeo is taken from Pastor, XVI, pp. 405-6.

⁴⁶ These facts concerning Valiero's life are to be found in Niceron, pp. 246-249.

⁴⁷ Ibid., pp. 247-248.

he not only governed his diocese in exemplary fashion, but he also held several synods, erected a seminary and built a number of hospitals.⁴⁸ Incidental references found in Pastor's monumental History of the Popes gives further insight to the activity of the priest and bishop who was known to his contemporaries as a zealous reformer, loving pastor, inspired administrator and holy man of charity. Among the reforms of Pius V was the abolition of the decadent order of the Humiliati. The female branch of the order was allowed to continue. A brief of July 6, 1571, to Bishop Valiero approves his plan of adding to the convent of Saint Cristiforo at Verona four older nuns, who would be able by their example to lead the others to a better way of life. The Bishop received the power to change to habit and office of the nuns at will.⁴⁹

Pius V's successor, Pope Gregory XIII, was equally insistent upon carrying out the reform decrees of the Council of Trent. The Council, recognizing as one of the principal causes of the decadence of the Church during the Renaissance period the decline in the practice of regular visitation of dioceses by their pastors, had urged in the strongest terms that every year bishops make a visitation of their whole dioceses. This attempt at reform was met with severe opposition

⁴⁸ Johann Christian Ferdinand Hoefer, Nouvelle Biographie Generale (Paris: Firmin Didot Freres et Compagnie), XLV, col. 874.

⁴⁹ Pastor, XVII, p. 248, n. 2.

in Venice. The city of the lagoons resented very strongly the Pope's claim to the right of visitation. The civil authorities held it as their right to inspect the monasteries, the hospitals and other charitable institutions of the city, and refused to give the visitors any information whatsoever as to the revenues of these establishments. The impasse was resolved, finally, when, as a compromise, Valiero was made visitor. As a limitation, however, he was not to interfere either with lay confraternities or with the internal affairs of convents of women. Thereupon, the visitation was concluded with good results that in the end even those who had opposed it were forced to give their approval.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, the trouble between Venice and Rome proved to be chronic and to bear serious consequences for Valiero.⁵¹

Besides throwing themselves with zeal into the plans of the Pope, the Bishop of Verona and many other bishops as well earned great esteem as fathers of the poor.⁵² For an example, in the plague year of 1575, Valiero was among those who distinguished themselves with their charity.⁵³

In summary mention of Valiero's accomplishment of his pastoral duties, we may well agree with Pastor: "Among the bishops in Italy

⁵⁰ Ibid., XIX, pp. 77-79.

⁵¹ Infra, p. 20.

⁵² Pastor, XIX, p. 82.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 214.

who were laboring in the spirit of Catholic reform by establishing seminaries, and holding synods and visitations, and acquiring great merit as pastors and as reforming bishops in the fullest sense of the word, was Agostino Valiero."⁵⁴

At a consistory held on December 12, 1583, Valiero was made a member of the Sacred College of Cardinals. At the same time, he was called to Rome and made titular Bishop of Saint Mark in Venice, and later he succeeded to the title of Palestrina.⁵⁵ The Cardinals' great energies were turned to still further reforms during his residence at the Papal court. In 1588, Valiero was one of five Cardinals appointed to the Congregation of rites set up by the papal bull of January 22 of that year. The duties of the Congregation were

. . . to take care that ancient ecclesiastical customs were everywhere observed with all diligence, in all the churches of Rome and throughout the world, even in the Papal chapels, at Mass and the divine Office, in the administration of the sacraments, and everything else pertaining to divine worship, restored where they had fallen into disuse, and emended where they had become corrupt. In accordance with this it was the duty of the Congregation to correct, where necessary, the books concerned, especially the Pontifical, Ritual and Ceremonial, and then to examine the Offices of Patron Saints, and after taking counsel with the Pope, to bring them into use. The Congregation was also to devote itself to the canonization of the saints and the sanctification of feast days, so that in this matter everything might be strictly carried out in conformity with the traditions of the Fathers. The Congregation was also to see to it that if kings

⁵⁴ Pastor, XXIV, pp. 190-191.

⁵⁵ Carusi, loc. cit.

or princes or their ambassadors, or other distinguished personages, ecclesiastical or civil, came to Rome or to Roman court, they were received with honor, and in accordance with their dignity, rank and official position by the Apostolic See, as had been customary with their predecessors. Lastly, the Congregation was to decide all disputes as to precedence which might arise at processions or elsewhere, as well as any difficulties which might occur in connection with the sacred ceremonies and customs.⁵⁶

When Pope Sixtus V died in 1590, there arose a matter of great importance and concern in the question of what to do about his edition of the Vulgate which contained serious errors. It was recommended to Gregory XIV⁵⁷ that he prohibit the bible of his predecessor. Bellarmine, the Jesuit Cardinal, strongly suggested that a new edition correcting the errors of the earlier one be published under the name of the deceased Pope with a preface to excuse as far as possible his mistakes. The task was given to Cardinal Colonna, president of the Congregation of the Index.⁵⁸ He was assisted in this delicate work by a group of biblical scholars, among whom was Agostino Valiero.⁵⁹ Gregory died before the work was completed. His successor, Clement VIII, placed the matter in the hands of Cardinals Frederick Borromeo⁶⁰ and Valiero, to whom was added Toledo as a collaborator.

⁵⁶ Pastor, XXI, p. 255.

⁵⁷ Sixtus V's immediate successor, Urban VII, died from malaria less than two weeks after his election.

⁵⁸ This is the Cardinal Colonna to whom Valiero inscribed his Commentarium De Consolatione Ecclesiae. Infra, p. 21, n. 71.

⁵⁹ Pastor, XXII, p. 391.

⁶⁰ A nephew of Saint Charles.

These re-examined the proposals made for emendation by the Gregorian commission, and decided upon a definitive text, which they enriched with learned notes. On August 28, 1592, they were able to present their completed work.⁶¹

Another result of the death of Sixtus V was to place Valiero high on the list of papabili.⁶² At the conclave which met to elect the deceased Pope's successor, and at every conclave thereafter until his death in 1606,⁶³ Valiero's name appeared among the very possible and sometimes even probable successors to the throne of Peter. On each occasion, however, the traditional enmity between France and Spain worked against Valiero's election. He was active in his opposition to whatever Spanish candidates were put forward, and they in turn rejected him.⁶⁴ Pastor says of Valiero that he seemed to be specially worthy of the tiara by reason of his great qualities.⁶⁵

⁶¹ Pastor, XXIV, p. 223.

⁶² Those who had a good chance of being elected Pope.

⁶³ These were the four conclaves preceding the elections of Urban VII, Gregory XIV, Clement VIII and Leo XI.

⁶⁴ The very interesting story of these ecclesiastical reverberations of the mutual ill-will of France and Spain, too lengthy to be repeated here, is to be found in Pastor, XXII, pp. 314-411 and XXV, pp. 2-36.

⁶⁵ XXII, p. 340.

Death came for Valiero on May 23,⁶⁶ 1606, when the Cardinal was in his seventy-sixth year. For our knowledge of the events surrounding Valiero's death, we are indebted partially to history and partially to tradition. The verifiable factual data reside in the account of the somewhat stormy relationship between the republic of Venice and the Holy Apostolic See. The Signory of the proud Italian city to the north had long resented any efforts on the part of the Papacy to establish⁶⁷ ecclesiastical control over the property and personnel of the Church in Venice.⁶⁸ The papal bull In Coena Domini was the occasion of an open break with Rome. The bull claimed, among other things, the exclusive right of the Church to conduct its own trials against ecclesiastics accused of crime, forbidding civil authorities to intervene. Venice refused to publish the bull and insisted upon the right to tax church properties and to try before her lay tribunals priests charged with criminal offenses. Acting in accordance with this insistence, Venice disobeyed the doctrine laid down in the bull and tried two priests accused of crime. In punishment Pope Paul V in 1606 put Venice under an interdict forbidding priests to celebrate Mass and excommunicating all citizens who did not accede to the authority of

⁶⁶ Carusi, p. 922. The dates for Valiero's death differ among his biographers, ranging from May 23 to May 26.

⁶⁷ Re-establish would perhaps be a better word.

⁶⁸ Cf., e.g., supra, p. 16.

the papal See. Venice in turn issued edicts of banishment against priests who should obey the interdict. Such is the brief outline of the historical facts. Tradition enters into the almost universal acceptance of the belief among Valiero's biographers that his grief at seeing his native city lie under such an instrument of papal anger caused his death. Tiraboschi does not mention the incident, but whether he did not believe or simply ignored it, we do not know. At any rate, the historian of Italian literature says that to the end of his life Valiero did not cease to give new evidence of zeal, of charity, of munificence, nor to cultivate studies, as he had always done, and to promote them by example, by exhortation and by giving prizes.⁶⁹

One of the most remarkable aspects of Valiero's life is his almost incredible literary production. It has been said that Valiero was a learned man. Indeed, he was considered so by his contemporaries. The number, extent and diversity of his writings lead us inescapably to the same conclusion. While there is no doubt among Valiero's biographers as to the versatility of the man, there is some speculation among them on the number of his works. Fortunately, our lack of knowledge in that regard has been at least partially removed by one of his editors. Hyacinth Ponzetti supplies us with four catalogues of Valiero's works in his edition of the latter's Commentary on the

⁶⁹ Tiraboschi, p. 393.

Consolation of the Church.⁷⁰ The first of these is a list of editions of Valliero's Latin works; the second, of his unedited Latin writings, the third, of Valliero's works published in Italian, and the fourth, a list of his unpublished Italian writings. To give some indication of the breadth of Valliero's intellectual interests, the titles of certain ones of these works are extracted from Ponzetti's catalogue of Valliero's published Latin works and given here. To show also the popularity Valliero's writings must have enjoyed, the number of editions of several of the works as given by Ponzetti is added as well.⁷¹

1. De recta philosophandi ratione, libri II, 3 editions.
2. Bernardi Navagerii Cardinalis . . . vita, 4 editions.
3. De acolytorum disciplina libri II . . ., 5 editions.
4. De rhetorica ecclesiastica . . . libri III, 24 editions.
5. A Synopsis of the Rhetorica Ecclesiastica, 5 editions.
6. Prælectiones III ad clericos Veronenses habitæ, 6 editions.
7. Vita Caroli Cardinalis Borromæi . . ., 13 editions.
8. Episcopus, 6 editions.
9. Cardinalis, 4 editions.
10. De occultis Dei beneficiis libri III . . ., 1 edition.

These ten titles are extracted from Ponzetti's list of 84 published Latin works of Valliero. Others in this catalogue include his decretals and pastoral letters.⁷²

⁷⁰ Hyacinth Ponzetti, Augustini Valerii . . . Commentarius de Consolatione Ecclesiae . . . Libri VI (Rome: Lazarini, 1795).

⁷¹ Editions appearing later than 1795 cannot, of course, be included, but at least in the case of the Rhetorica Ecclesiastica (if no others), we know that such editions have appeared: for example, Dinouart's 1750 French translation of the Rhetorica Ecclesiastica, was republished as late as 1851. Supra, p. 10, n. 29.

⁷² Ponzetti, pp. 43-59.

Among Valiero's unpublished Latin works are to be found the greater part of his ethical, moral, philosophical and theological treatises as well as the bulk of his Latin homilies, sermons and letters. Ponzetti lists 105 titles.⁷³

The 46 Italian publications listed by Ponzetti are for the most part letters and translations of Valiero's Latin writings.⁷⁴ His unpublished Italian writings include letters and a Tragedy written in imitation of Sophocles and Euripides. Ponzetti lists 18 titles.⁷⁵ Of course, we have no assurance that Ponzetti's list is complete.

The vast erudition of Valiero led him beyond the sermons, homilies and prefaces he produced in such great number, beyond the treatises on philosophy, theology and morals, into the fields of physics, politics and eloquence.⁷⁶ Tiraboschi tells us that there is scarcely an argument which lends itself to discussion that Valiero has not treated, and he offers as examples a dissertation written against the opinion held by learned men of the time that a comet seen in those days forboded evil, the book on the barbarism of students,⁷⁷ a

⁷³ Ibid., pp. 60-71.

⁷⁴ Ibid., pp. 72-77.

⁷⁵ Ibid., pp. 78-80.

⁷⁶ Tiraboschi, p. 393.

⁷⁷ See number 3 among the list of titles on p. 26.

treatise on the connection of science and art,⁷⁸ and the tragedy in Italian verse.⁷⁹

The Rhetorica Ecclesiastica:

Its Editions, Its Sources, and Its Form

The almost universally accepted notion is that the first edition of the Rhetorical Ecclesiastica appeared at Venice in 1574. This apparently erroneous belief is corrected by Ponzetti in his 1795 edition of Valiero's De Consolatione Ecclesiae. Ponzetti, in numbering the edition, lists one which he says appeared at Verona, in 1573

. . . edited by Father Mark Medices of the Order of Preachers,⁸⁰ Inquisitor of Verona, and is the first edition of this work, as Father Medices himself pointed out in the dedicatory letter to Saint Charles Borromeo prefixed to the second edition printed in Venice in 1574 in octavo, by Andrew Bocchini under the direction of the same Father Medices; and moreover as is expressly said in the preface to the perspicuous reader of another Venetian edition in quarto, 1578, printed by Francis Ziletti. Hence, that most distinguished and learned patron, Nicholas Anthony Giustiniani, most highly esteemed by many names in the Republic of Letters, ought to be corrected in the Note to the letter of Saint Charles Borromeo dated November 17, 1573, and placed under number 25 in the Appendix of the book which is entitled On the Secret Favors of God,⁸¹ because he maintained "The first edition

⁷⁸ Valiero refers to this little book in his lectures to the students in his seminary at Verona. See number 6 in the list of titles on p. 22, and Appendix, *infra*, pp. 303-4.

⁷⁹ Tiraboschi, pp. 393-394.

⁸⁰ Dominican.

⁸¹ See title number 10, p. 26, above.

of this work appeared in Venice in the year 1574 with the letter of Galesino.⁸²

Ponsetti lists the following editions of the Rhetorica Ecclesiastica:⁸³

Verona, 1573,		Milan, 1574, quarto
Verona, 1574, quarto		Milan, 1576, quarto
Verona, 1583, quarto		Rome, 1576, octavo
Verona, 1732, quarto		Rome, 1577, octavo
Venice, 1574, octavo		Paris, 1575, octavo
Venice, 1574, quarto		Paris, 1576, octavo
Venice, 1576, quarto		Paris, 1577, octavo
Venice, 1578, quarto	(French)	Paris, 1750, 12 mo
Venice, 1579, octavo		Cologne, 1575, octavo
Venice, 1580, quarto		Cologne, 1594, quarto
Venice, 1770, quarto		Lyons, 1595
Padua, 1672, octavo		Jena, 1668, octavo

To these may be added the Cologne edition of 1582, from which the present translation is made, and an 1851 republication of the 1750 edition in French. The possibility of other editions unknown to Ponsetti, and which have not come to light in the course of the study presented here, is unquestionable.

Several facts become evident in the light of the information outlined above:

1. There has been a total number of editions of the Rhetorica Ecclesiastica amounting to at least twenty-six.
2. Twenty of these appeared before Valiero's death in 1606.

⁸² Ponsetti, p. 46. The italics are Ponsetti's. The translation is mine.

⁸³ Ibid., pp. 46-47.

3. The book was printed in nine of the major cities of Europe, four of them outside Italy.

4. From first to last, the printings of the Rhetorica covered the period from 1573 to 1851, a span of 278 years.

In view of these facts, the conclusion seems to be warranted that the Rhetorica Ecclesiastica of Agostino Valiero enjoyed a popularity and exercised an influence of very durable character in the area of preacher training in European seminaries during the last part of the sixteenth century, the whole of the seventeenth and eighteenth, and at least the first half of the nineteenth centuries. Such extensive use of the book in England during these years is much less evident. The break between the English church and Rome, and the fact that no British editions have come to light in the course of the present study lead to the conclusion that the book was less well known in the British Isles. Moreover, Dinouart tells us that so small is the number of scholars who know it one might say it had never left Italy.⁸⁴ That the book did leave Italy is evident from the number of editions appearing in the larger cities of Europe. Further, that it was not completely unknown to English speaking people is shown by the photostat of the title page found on page 33 of this translation. There is, among the inked inscriptions, the date, 1647, and the words, "This Augustin

⁸⁴ Dinouart, col. 957,

Valerius was a Cardinal & Bishop of Verona & a dear friend to St. Charles Borromaeus." It cannot be said what the origin of this inscription is, but the chances are at least good that the book came to the United States through England.⁸⁵

Valiero's knowledge of the classical theories of speaking becomes more than evident from a glance at the sources of his Rhetorica. That is not to say that the book is a well documented work. On the contrary, as may be seen in the text of the translation, specific reference is extremely rare, and there is seldom to be found even a general reference to the name of an author drawn upon. This is true mainly of those elements of the work dealing with rhetorical theory. Quotations from the Fathers of the Church are always identified at least by the name of the man quoted. Scriptural references are oftentimes very vague. Valiero's whole background and learning are so closely allied to Holy Scripture that he frequently quotes phrases and verses seemingly unaware himself of so doing.⁸⁶ Many biblical citations are extracted from "the Apostle" or "the Prophet."

Although our prime interest here is in the sources to which

⁸⁵ As far as I have been able to discover, the Cologne edition of 1582 is the only copy of the Rhetorica Ecclesiastica in this country.

⁸⁶ While the complete lack of quotation marks in the text seems to promote such an appearance, it is to be doubted that Valiero quoted the Bible without knowing it.

Valiero went for his basic rhetorical theory, it would be interesting to note at this point the wide range of materials he had at his command. He does not, as has been said, document his writing in the thorough manner recommended by contemporary scholarship, yet the following group of writers cited by Valiero, even though it is not a complete enumeration, gives ample evidence of the man's wide learning.

1. Among the writers on rhetoric, Valiero was familiar with at least the works of Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Quintilian and Saint Augustine. Certain similarities with the Rhetorica ad Herennium seem to point to an acquaintance with that work as well.

2. Valiero's familiarity with the writings of the Fathers is very wide. He quotes from Ambrose, Anselm, Augustine (apart from the De Doctrina Christiana), Basil, Chrysostom, Cyprian, Gregory the Great, Jerome, Lactantius, Bishop Saint Maximus, Nazianzen and Tertullian.

3. Other references are made to the writings of Saint Dominic, Saint Bernard, Saint Anthony of Florence, Saint Zeno of Milan, Saint Thomas Aquinas, and other ecclesiastical as well as lay writers, classical, medieval and renaissance.⁸⁷

In general, the basic doctrine taught by Valiero is that of

⁸⁷ Still others not mentioned in the Rhetorica Ecclesiastica are to be found in the three lectures included as an Appendix, infra, pp. 300-326.

Cicero, with Aristotle, Quintilian and even Saint Augustine being less frequently drawn upon, and Plato not at all except for a broad, philosophical point of view. The only medieval contribution to Valiero's theory is in his approach to the problem of scriptural interpretation, while in the matter of form, the extensive use of examples drawn from the Fathers owes its origin to the practice of the Middle Ages.

Gibert in a marginal note quotes Keckermann as saying in his Preface that Valiero composed his Rhetorica on the model of Aristotle.⁸⁸ Indeed, Valiero himself says the same thing in his three lectures,⁸⁹ but the notion is mainly in the matter of format, for while the form is similar to Aristotle's Rhetoric, the theory is mainly Ciceronian. At any rate, as Valiero makes clear, he is speaking of his method of exposition, and not necessarily his rhetorical theory.

Summary of the Rhetorica Ecclesiastica

For the most part, the Rhetorica Ecclesiastica is a rhetoric of inventio. Of its three books, the first two are given over to a discussion of ecclesiastical eloquence in the light of that canon. The third book concerns itself in the far greater part of its length with elocutio. Dispositio, memoria and pronunciatio are relegated to

⁸⁸ Balthazar Gibert, Jugemens des Savans sur les Auteurs qui ont traite de la Rhetorique (Paris: Etienne Ganeau, 1713-1719), II, p. 273.

⁸⁹ Infra, p. 314.

very inferior positions of importance. Dispositio is given 14 chapters, pronunciatio only one, and memoria is briefly mentioned (almost as an afterthought) in the final chapter of the book. The disproportion of emphasis becomes evident when we consider the fact that of a total of 153 chapters, 94 are given to inventio, 43 to elocutio, 14 to dispositio, 1 to pronunciatio or actio, and about half a page to memoria.⁹⁰

In a series of preliminary chapters, Book I defines ecclesiastical rhetoric, and describes the usefulness and nature of the art, and the function of the preacher. The material of the orator is twofold, remote and proximate. The remote matter is anything that has been written insofar as it is appropriate to his needs. Three kinds of speaking comprise the proximate matter of the preacher, the deliberative, the demonstrative, and the judicial. The deliberative mode of speaking is concerned with persuasion and dissuasion, and can be reduced to five headings: what is to be believed, what is to be hoped for, what is to be feared, what is to be avoided, and what is to be done. Chapters VI-XIX are given over to examples of arguments the preacher will use in persuading his hearers to the proper action in regard to each of these five headings and the subdivisions they comprise. The bulk of the discussion is concerned with avoiding various kinds of sins and obeying the properly promulgated laws of God and man. The demonstrative

⁹⁰ Memoria is truly the "lost canon."

mode of speaking is used for praise or blame. Chapters XX-XXII describe the virtues for which men are to be praised and give examples of arguments that are to be used in this mode of speaking. The judicial mode is described and exemplified in Chapter XXIII. Chapters XXIV and XXV introduce the concept of the enthymeme and the example, defining the nature and sources of each. Arguments are said to be of two kinds, intrinsic and extrinsic. Chapter XXVI defines the commonplace as the source or region of intrinsic arguments and lists the commonplaces. Chapters XXVII-XLI define each in turn and give examples of their use. The sources of extrinsic arguments are defined and exemplified in Chapters XLII-XLIX.

For the purpose of summarizing, Book II may be divided into two parts: first, the portion dealing with the various emotions to which hearers may be aroused, and second, the chapters concerning the various methods by which hearers may be persuaded. The emotions to which hearers are to be moved are those which are efficacious for their salvation. These are love, resignation in God, zeal, anger, and clemency, penance, mourning, mercy, pity, fear, shame, joy and hope.⁹¹ Vallero classifies audiences according to nature, learning, choice, and the secret judgment of God.⁹² Thus, he gives examples of

⁹¹ This enumeration is not intended to be complete, but merely descriptive.

⁹² His circumlocution to avoid the concept of chance.

arguments that are to be used in persuading men, women, parents and children, the aged, the young and the middle aged, teachers and pupils, those in religious life, friends, soldiers, merchants, princes and subjects, civil officers, masters of houses, inhabitants of the country and servants. The three concluding chapters of Book II discuss, respectively, the use of examples, the use of maxims, and the use of the enthymeme.

Valiero's tenets on elocutio are to be found in Book III. The function of ecclesiastical elocution or style is to make the sermon suitable, fitting, faultless and clear. Actio is important. More important is the help of God, which must be sought through diligent prayer. These preliminary concepts preface the basic matter of Book III--Valiero's discussion of figurative language. Figures are of two kinds, those of language and those of thought. Valiero dismisses the former almost abruptly with the advice that they are of more concern to the grammarian, and proceeds to his discussion of the latter. Chapters XI-XVII give examples of the figures that are to be used in the "fine or subtle" style of speaking. Chapters XVIII-XXXII offer examples of figures that are to be used in the "temperate" style of speaking. Chapters XXXIII-XXXIX present examples of the figures that are to be used in the "vehement" style of speaking. Chapters XL-XLII delineate the methods of insuring decorum in the oration. A broad knowledge of the writings of the Fathers of the Church

is required of the Ecclesiastical Orator. Chapter XLIII defines the homily and Chapter XLIV posits the necessity for judgment on the part of the speaker. Valiero's doctrine on dispositio, as set down in Chapter XLV, is Aristotelian in that he rejects manifold division of the speech, retaining only that statement of the proposition and the proof. Nevertheless, he finds it necessary to devote Chapters XLVI-XLIX to a discussion of the various types of introductions, Chapter XL to the proposition and the use of digressions, and Chapter XLI to further description of the proposition. Chapters LII-LVI contain Valiero's method of scriptural interpretation. Chapters LVII and LVIII are devoted, respectively, to division and the epilogue. The Book is concluded with a chapter divided between brief remarks on memoria and the dignity of the Ecclesiastical Orator.

A Note on the Translation.

The effort has been made throughout this translation to achieve accuracy of meaning within the limitations of justifiable deviation from literal translation. No attempt has been made to put the book into contemporary English style. Any appearance of such in the text that follows is the result of the translator's unconscious lapse into his own idiom rather than a deliberate effort to "modernize" the book. Instead, the general policy has been to retain as much of Valiero's style as could be successfully carried into another language, even with

its frequent repetitions and sometimes frequent obscurities. The obscurities are clarified to the best of the translator's ability either in footnotes or in bracketed additions to the text.

One final word must be said about apparent inconsistencies in documenting Valiero's references to other writers. Three rules have been followed:

1. In so far as possible, all rhetorical elements have been thoroughly documented whether Valiero gives credit or not.
2. All directly quoted biblical references have been documented and as many others as the translator (who is certainly no biblical scholar) could recognize and place.
3. No effort has been made to list references to the Fathers of the Church and to other ecclesiastical or lay writers. In the preface to his French translation of 1750, Father Dinouart complains of Valiero's casual documentation. I have taken the liberty of adopting his attitude on the matter. "Comme il ne cite presque point les livres des Peres d'ou il tire ses exemples, nous nous en sommes également exempts. On ne peut imposer cette obligation a un traducteur."⁹³

⁹³ Dinouart, col. 961.

AVGVSTINI
V A L E R I I,
 V E R O N E N S I S
 EPISCOPI, DE RHETO.
 RICA ECCLESIASTICA
 LIBRI III. PERQVAM
 ERVDITI.

Vnà cum tribus prælectionibus eiusdem; & pulcher-
 rima Ecclesiasticæ huius Rhetoricæ

SYNOPSIS.

*This Augustin Valerius was
 a Cardinal & Bishop of Vro-
 na & a dear friend to St.*

Adiecto etiam Indice locupletissimo. Carolus Boromæus.



COLONIAE

Apud Geruinum Calenium, & Heredes
 Quentelios. M. D. LXXXII.

THREE BOOKS ON ECCLESIASTICAL RHETORIC

by

**Agostino Valiero
Bishop of Verona**

**together with three lectures
by the same author
and a most excellent synopsis of
this Ecclesiastical Rhetoric.**

A highly amplified index is also added.

COLOGNE

**Gervinus Calenius and the Heirs of Quentel
1582**

BOOK ONE

ON ECCLESIASTICAL RHETORIC FOR THE CLERGY

Chapter I

What Ecclesiastical Eloquence Is

As Lactantius Firmianus writes, when the tongue undertakes to impart the truth, and to expound the power and majesty of God, only then is it being put to its proper use. Lying is a perversion of its real function. Secular orators, however, have made a practice of deceiving incautious souls by their false arguments; they have failed to set forth in their orations the glory of God. Rather than eloquent, one would call these men skilled in abundant cunning, [learned] in their seductive and seditious craft, and [wise] in all the enticements of words.

Now if anyone contend that all these evil usages derive not from the art itself, but from the depraved nature of the orators, and that the orator is to be defined as a good man skilled in speaking,¹ he will certainly not deny that ethical men, the skilled speakers whom antiquity admired, had not the slightest intention of instructing their

¹ Quintilian, Institutio Oratoria, XII, i, 1; XII, i, 44; XII, xi, 9. See also Quintilian's discussion of the nature of rhetoric, II, xv, 1-3.

hearers in the most true religion of Christ, the one Teacher of truth, or of guiding them to a happy and eternal life. And so, even though Cicero had something entirely different in mind, he was right in saying that he had seen many skilled speakers, but no one truly eloquent,² for no one can justly be called eloquent unless it be those men who, aided by the Holy Spirit, have either predicted or recognized Christ as God and have abundantly expounded His most true religion.

Therefore these precepts have been gathered together and adapted to the teaching of heavenly and sacred eloquence. Since they are taught by Holy Mother Church, the spouse of Christ, Who is the Teacher of all salutary precepts, they constitute a rhetoric of the Church.

Upon occasion, the Holy Spirit Himself used to supply this divine rather than human faculty of speaking without any labor on the part of the speaker. Yet no one will deny that this faculty can be learned and reduced to an art through the study of the sermons whereby holy men, enlightened by that same Spirit, have benefited the Christian people.

Chapter II

On the Usefulness of Ecclesiastical Eloquence

Teachers of rhetoric call eloquence useful because it safeguards

² De Oratore, I, xxi, 94.

and exalts the truth which would otherwise succumb to the ignorance of judges and the deep-rooted chicanery of adversaries. This is not only unnecessary, it is a disgrace to mankind. The rhetoricians give further evidence of its utility; it reveals salutary counsels; it renders the honors due to virtue, it calms the passions of the people, and in both public and private life, it affords the greatest benefits.³

We adjudge Ecclesiastical Eloquence to be useful not only for the reasons the rhetoricians give,⁴ but also for the instruction, sustentation and prepropagation of religion, the greatest of all the goods given to man by a generous God. If those who are equipped with this [eloquence] be called by heaven to that most noble office [of preaching], they will convert provinces and kingdoms to Christ, they will annihilate heresies, appease dissensions and beget harmony. They will be able to dictate laws, establish them, and even inscribe them in the souls of men. As a result, they [who possess the gift of eloquence] will truly govern without tyranny, and will merit the name of ministers of God, mediators, Angels and ambassadors of Christ. The Apostles are justly called by these names, as well as those who engage in the apostolic

³ Quintilian, II, xvi, 7-10; De Oratore, I, viii, 30-34; Aristotle, Rhetoric, pp. 5-6. All references to the Rhetoric of Aristotle will be taken from Lane Cooper, The Rhetoric of Aristotle (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1932).

⁴ Vallero frequently reminds his readers of the distinction to be made between the rhetor saeculus and the orator ecclesiasticus, a practice he seems to have had from Saint Augustine.

office of speaking without pretence or ostentation.⁵

Chapter III

What Sort of Art Ecclesiastical Rhetoric Is and of What Nature the Function of the Orator Is

The art which teaches the ecclesiastical eloquence so useful to Christian people is called Ecclesiastical Rhetoric. It is defined as the art or faculty of the invention, disposition and elocution of those things which pertain to the salvation of souls.⁶

It is the duty of the Ecclesiastical Orator to teach the people the truth, to reveal to them the sacred mysteries of God, to teach them to live piously and innocently, to eliminate unseemly errors, to abolish pernicious superstitions, to destroy perverse customs, to lead men to that holy, true, and divine wisdom, the Christian religion, and to nourish the souls of their hearers with that sweetest of foods, a knowledge of the truth. This is his proposed aim: by his persuasion to augment the kingdom of God, to win souls for Christ, to bring honor to His holy Church, to diminish the tyranny of the Devil, and to enkindle

⁵ A major point with both Valiero and Augustine. See De Doctrina Christiana, chap. V.

⁶ Although he does not include the concepts of memoria and pronunciatio in his definition of ecclesiastical rhetoric, Valiero treats memoria in III, lix, and pronunciatio, or actio in III, iv. Cicero says the orator must consider three things, what to say, in what order to say it, and in what style and manner to say it. Orator, xiv, 43.

souls redeemed by the blood of Christ with [a desire for] beatitude and eternal life.

We have explained the function and aim of the Ecclesiastical Orator with many redundancies to [show that we are aware of and] have regard for the undeveloped talents of the clergy.⁷

To continue. Happiness, or blessedness, most pleasing and most beautiful name, is the reward of virtue and the abundance of all good. It resides in the sight and possession of God. True as it may be that before death no one may be called truly happy,⁸ we nevertheless call happy those travellers who prepare for a trip by unburdening themselves of anything that might weigh them down on the road. We call sailors happy when they sight port. So also in wandering over the seas of this life, we call happy those humble souls who recognize the providence of God, and submit their wills to His. We called happy [or blessed] those mild men whose souls are endowed with such sweetness that no sorrow can embitter them. We call blessed those who mourn, to whom is given the grace of feeling strong sorrow because of the sins that are committed [in the world], and because of the good which could be done but is not. We called blessed those who love that

⁷ The young clergy, the seminarians for whom he writes.

⁸ In as much as the word beatus means both "blessed" and "happy," what follows will be seen as a sermon in itself, based on the Sermon on the Mount and somewhat expanded.

most useful and esteemed virtue, justice, which can also be called goodness or innocence. We call blessed those whose hearts are filled with pity, weeping over the misfortunes of others and bringing them aid. Likewise do we call blessed those who live in the world temperately, pure of heart, who, freed from the tyranny of impure passion, undertake to lead an angelic life, and who are someday to see the God of beauty and the Author of all good. We call blessed those who are zealous for peace, who enjoy so much and such great good because through their impregnable self control they will find victory in the very perilous struggle of this world. These are the sons and heirs of God. It is they who will take possession of the heavenly patrimony. We call blessed those whom the world harrasses in many ways, whom it vituperates, whom it covers with calumny because they esteem and defend the truth, because they seek the glory of God, because they strive to profit men by their example. The true Teacher, our Lord Jesus Christ, has portrayed [in the Sermon on the Mount, the true] happiness [to be merited in] our journey [through life].

In explaining these things, the Ecclesiastical Orator will easily be able to prove that happiness is not to be found, as certain philosophers have thought, in pleasure, nor riches, nor in honor, nor even in wisdom, nor finally in the virtue proper to men. [He will show] that only those things are good which make men good. The physical goods, health and beauty, and the external goods, wealth and honor,

are good only to the extent that they are rightly used. As an example, consider the case of a doctor. Although he does not always cure the disease he treats, he is nevertheless called a good doctor because in his effort to restore health he has applied all the remedies at his command.⁹ The same thing can happen [in preaching] because of the corruption of the world and the depravity of morals: even though little or no benefit is derived from hearing good preachers, they are still to be called good preachers [because they have applied the remedies for curing souls].¹⁰ But if the Ecclesiastical Orator distinguish himself in his sermon to the extent that his hearers whisper among themselves after he has spoken, and moved, penetrated to the heart, ask, "What, then, shall we do?" because this has been granted to him speaking for the most blessed Prince of the Apostles, he will not feel that he has gained anything [for himself through his own efforts. Rather is he to recognise that any merits he may gain through his speaking are to be rendered to the Holy Ghost.]¹¹

In everything that exists upon earth, it is easy to discern four

⁹ See Aristotle, Rhetoric, p. 7, and Topica, II, II, 3.

¹⁰ Cf. Cicero, De Optimo Genere Oratorum, II, 6.

¹¹ This bracketed addition is the explanation of this rather obscure passage as it is interpreted in the French translation of the Rhetorica Ecclesiastica: J. A. T. Dinouart, "La Rhétorique du Prédicateur," Nouvelle Encyclopédie Théologique (Paris: Jacques-Paul Migne, 1851), VI, Appendix I, col. 981.

causes. In man we speak of the efficient causes as being God¹² and another man; the formal cause is the soul, the material cause, the body; the final cause, happiness. In the case of a house, we call the architect the efficient cause; the formal cause is the shape of the house itself, the material cause the stones and cement, the final cause defense from the elements.

I explained the final cause of sermons a little earlier.¹³ We speak of their efficient cause as being the Holy Spirit, Who is invoked by prayer. The Holy Ghost is the efficient cause of all goods, deeds and words, for in the absence of His divine will, all sermons are useless, even completely dead. Saint Dominic knew thus. Thus, when he was asked how he was able to arouse in his hearers such admiration for his speaking, how he was able to win so many souls for Christ, he replied that the things he said were to be found in the little book of Charity, in the little book of the Holy Ghost.¹⁴

¹² Valiere uses the personification Sol, or Sun-God, "*. . . efficientes, causas dicimus Solem et alium hominem.*" Perhaps a touch of the neo-paganism of the Renaissance in Valiere's otherwise very Christian style.

¹³ Supra, p. 4. "This is his proposed aim . . . beatitude and eternal life."

¹⁴ To a preacher who once asked for some hints for the improvement of his own preaching, Saint Bernardino of Siena, the mighty Franciscan preacher, is said to have replied: "'Since I began to preach, I have never uttered a word except for the sake of God's honor and praise; and to this rule, which I have always carefully observed, I owe whatever of learning, eloquence, readiness, or influence I have gained.'" Victorine Hoffman, O. F. M., "Franciscan Preaching of the Past," The Franciscan Educational Journal, IX (September, 1927), p. 139.

The proximate efficient causes are work and practice.¹⁵ The form consists in speaking to the people in a manner suited to their understanding. In school, we treat difficult problems briefly and acutely,¹⁶ [but] in the sermons we prepare for the people, our discussion should be complete and plain, and at the same time should be concerned with the things that pertain primarily to the salvation of the soul. The form of the sermon, the force of Christian eloquence, the very substance of all the precepts we teach, might well be described in the words of Saint Augustine, who says that the Ecclesiastical Orator should so speak so that his audience listen to him intelligently, obediently and freely.¹⁷ Let us now speak of the matter [or material form of Ecclesiastical Rhetoric.]

¹⁵ Quintilian, II, xiii, 15. Valiero does not mention the "native ability" called for by Isocrates, Antidosis, 187, but he does say, infra, III, iv, that those with great impediments and ineptitudes should, if possible, eschew the office of preaching.

¹⁶ Mainly through the use of the scholastic disputation. For a brief history of its use see Leo F. Miller, "The Pedagogical Value of the Scholastic Disputation," Bulletin, The National Catholic Educational Association, XXI (November, 1924), 642-657.

¹⁷ De Doctrina Christiana, IV, xv, 32. Implicit, of course, are the three general ends of speaking: to teach for intelligence (or understanding), to delight for pleasure (a "freely" listening audience), and to move for obedience. To Cicero, however, the three ends are all means to the one end--persuasion. Cf. infra, II, i. See Quintilian, IV, i, 5.

Chapter IV

The Matter of This Art is Twofold: Remote and Proximate

The subject matter of the Ecclesiastical Orator is twofold: remote and proximate. The remote matter consists in anything that has been written,¹⁸ whether it be by philosophers, poets, historians, or orators. Excerpts from any and all classes of authors may be used in so far as the material is salutary for the people. This whole body of material, taken from other speakers and writers, may be used by the Ecclesiastical Orator in so far as it is appropriate to his needs.

Three kinds of speaking comprise the proximate material of the Ecclesiastical Orator: the Deliberative, the Demonstrative and the Judicial.¹⁹ The deliberative mode of speaking is concerned with persuasion and dissuasion. Its end is the useful. The demonstrative mode deals with praise and blame. Its end is honor. The judicial mode, on the other hand, is occupied with accusation and defense, its end being what is just.

¹⁸ De Doctrina Christiana, II, xviii, 28; De Oratore, I, vi, 20; Quintilian, II, xxi, 26.

¹⁹ Quintilian, III, iv, 1-16, especially 12-16; Aristotle, p. 17; Cicero, Topica, xxiv, 91. Valiero uses Quintilian's language, but his understanding of the three kinds of speaking is from Aristotle and Cicero. Cf. also Rhetorica Ad Herennium, I, ii.

"Nothing is useful," writes Saint Ambrose, "unless it leads us to eternal life." Thus we define honesty as the ornament of virtue, so joined to usefulness that it cannot be separated. Justice is the constant and everlasting desire to render to each what is rightfully his. The first principle of justice is that we acknowledge the Lord of heaven and earth, the Rewarder of good, the Avenger of evil, and that we obey His precepts. Now since all these things refer to the true happiness of man, it can be understood that while we Christians distinguish between the different ends of utility and honesty, we do not, as the rhetoricians have thought, separate utility from honesty.²⁰

Chapter V

The Deliberative Mode Can Be Reduced to Five Headings

The deliberative mode has as its end the counselling of good and dissuasion from evil.²¹ Every effort of the Ecclesiastical Orator should be directed toward this end. It is in this type of speaking that he should put his greatest energy and diligence. Calling the people of God away from their evil practices toward true piety, he must inflame them with all the Christian virtues. To make the teaching

²⁰ It is quite possible that besides the De Officiis Ministrorum of Saint Ambrose, III, II, Vallero has in mind Aristotle's distinction between justice and equity, Rhetoric, p. 76.

²¹ Note the departure from the thought of Aristotle, who conceived of exhortation and dissuasion in terms of political expediency rather than moral good or ill.

easier, those things to which the Ecclesiastical Orator customarily exhorts his people can be reduced to perhaps five headings: [1] the things that should be believed; [2] those which ought to be hoped for; [3] those that are to be feared; [4] the things which must be avoided; [5] the things which must be done.²² Almost all theology and the whole Christian ethic is embraced under these five heads. We who write for the clergy will touch upon certain things that will furnish them with a somewhat abundant supply of propositions [drawn from these headings, but] we will omit any thorough treatment of them, for that would be to reduplicate here the work of very learned theologians. Moreover, we would seem to be forgetful of the goal we have set ourselves.

Chapter VI

On What Is to Be Believed

Now, the Ecclesiastical Orator will point out that credence is to be given to the word of God as set forth in Holy Scripture. And so that he may understand that not everything pertaining to salvation is contained in the expressed word of God, he should read in this connection the excellent little book of the learned Cardinal Osio of

²² So different from the five subjects of deliberative oratory as listed by Aristotle.

Warmia,²³ The preacher must set forth the necessity for believing the twelve articles contained in the Apostles' Creed. In explaining these, that splendid book, the Roman Catechism, very recently published by order of the Supreme Pontiff Pius V,²⁴ will offer an abundance of method. Let him take care, however, not to give the appearance at any time that he considers any one of these tenets the least doubtful. Some preachers do this not so much out of ignorance or lack of faith as for display, for they argue about the providence of God [as if it needed proof], and trot out in public arguments exploded hundreds of years ago.²⁵ This unnecessary exercise is more than dangerous, it is to be condemned as pernicious. Again and again, the Ecclesiastical Orator will affirm the fact that the twelve articles of faith [in the Apostles' Creed] are the principles, the bases, and the fundamentals of the Christian religion. He will maintain them to be so certain, so indubitable, so confirmed by the blood of martyrs, that it would be foolish, even more than that, wicked, to hold them in doubt.

Among the proposals he sets forth must also be the fact that

²³ Stanislaw Cardinal Hosjusz (Osus), 1504-1579, Polish Bishop-Prince of Ermeland. "La piu notevole [of his works] e la Confessio fidei catholicae christianae . . . nella quale egli dimostra la coerenza del suo tempo con il cristianesimo antico, e per la prima volta espone sotto luce teologica le quattro note della Chiesa." Enciclopedia Italiana, XXV, p. 664.

²⁴ One of the results of the Council of Trent.

²⁵ Reminiscent of Isocrates' Helen.

belief is to be accorded the Apostles and apostolic men as ministers of the Holy Spirit, and that the holy traditions of the Apostles [as well as their writings] must be held in faith.²⁶ These traditions are to be venerated by Christian people as voices of God and oracles²⁷ of the same Holy Spirit Whom we adore equally with the Father and the Son.

Holy Mother Church, the teacher of truth and the bride of Christ, must be believed. Saint Gregory thought that the same assent should be given to the holy General Councils as to the Gospels, doubtless because these [Councils] were assembled in the Holy Spirit. Likewise, credence should be rendered to the doctors of the Church when they assert something unitedly. We are not to believe the Devil, perpetual enemy of our souls [who goes about the world] promoting wicked novelty in the guise of dogma. Nor [are we to believe] his heretical disciples when in their malice and wickedness they seek to contaminate the purity of the Catholic faith [through their preaching of heresy]. In matters of faith, natural talents are not to be relied upon, one's own or those of anyone else. [Rather is holy mother Church to be looked to as the one who defines truth and expels error.]

²⁶ A distinction is to be made between the writings of the fathers, and the traditions of the fathers. Both are articles of faith for the Christian. See infra, I, 43, pp. 108-110.

²⁷ Vallero would be the first to deny the efficacy of "oracles" in the Delphic sense. Oraculum is the standard word for prophecy among the fathers. Cf. De Doctrina Christiana, II, 23.

Chapter VII

On What Is to Be Hoped

Like a trusty companion, hope follows [upon the heels of] faith.²⁸ Therefore the Ecclesiastic Orator will show that all good is to be hoped for from God, the most beneficent Lord of heaven and earth and the Father of mercies. [In his sermon, the preacher] will show that we have as an advocate our Lord Jesus Christ Whose most precious blood freed us from the tyranny of Satan; that we have Him to pray for us; that we are to hope for life eternal and to long for the sight and enjoyment of God, the fellowship of the Angels, and a life free from all perils and molestations, abounding in heavenly and perpetual good.

But the people of God must frequently be warned of the danger of deceiving themselves with false trusts.²⁹ They must know that God is just as well as merciful; that their faith must be confirmed by their works; that God, from Whom we have received innumerable benefits, and in Whom we hope, must not be roused to wrath. But if the preacher suspect anyone of despair, he can mention these words of Saint Augustine, "Take hope, sinner, do not despair. Hope in

²⁸ Augustine says, "Comes est ergo fidei spes." Sermo LIII. x, 11.

²⁹ Presumption is as much a sin as despair.

Him Whom you fear. Take refuge in Him. In a fitting manner, invoke Him Whom in your pride you have provoked."

Chapter VIII

On What Is to Be Feared

To continue. Since no one knows whether he is worthy of love or hatred [in the eyes of God], and since we have offended God, the Author and Source of all goods, in so many things, the preacher should explain that the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom.³⁰ God is to be feared because He Who created everything from nothing can, with one blow, reduce everything to the same nothingness. We should fear eternal punishment and that terrible day of judgment.³¹ We should fear, nay more than fear, we should dread the torments of hell. In relating the terrible day of judgment, David uses these words: "God shall come manifestly: our God shall come, and shall not keep silence. A fire shall burn before him: and a mighty tempest shall be round about him."³² And we shall all stand before His tribunal shielded by none

³⁰ Psalm, cx, 10; Proverbs: i, 7; ix, 10; Ecclesiasticus: i, 6.

³¹ The day of the last judgment, dies irae, dies illa, is a very frequently recurring concept in Catholic writing, especially of the early days.

³² Psalm xlix, 3, 4. All direct quotations taken from Scripture are to be found in Douay-Rheims version of The Holy Bible (New York: P. J. Kennedy & Sons, 1914).

of the guildings of nobility or the trappings of wisdom. Then we shall all stand before that just judge, Him Whom we have been unwilling to recognize as the Father of mercies.³³ The Ecclesiastical Orator will tell how on that day there will be weeping and the gnashing of teeth, wailing and lamentation and tardy penance. Then the foundations of the mountains will be moved, and the earth will burn even to the lower depths. Then, according to the prophecies of the Apostles, the heavens will dissolve in flame and the elements will be consumed in a blaze of fire.³⁴ Then, as our Lord Himself has told us, the very powers of heaven will be shaken, the sun will be darkened, the moon will not give her light and the stars will fall from the sky.³⁵ The preacher should show further that nothing can be more horrible than hell, that it is the terrible loss of the sight of God, that it is a lake with no limits and of boundless depth, filled with flames and an unbearable stench, there there is no order there, but eternal horror, no hope of good, no escape from evil.

Chapter IX

On the Things That Are to Be Avoided

Since Christian wisdom consists principally in the doing of

³³ Saint Ambrose prays, "Thee, O Lord, before Whom I dare not stand as my Judge, I long for as my Saviour."

³⁴ II Peter: iii, 12.

³⁵ Matthew: xxiv, 29; Mark: xiii, 24, 25.

good and the avoiding of evil, the Ecclesiastical Orator must point out that above all sin is to be avoided, because it separates us from God, the fount of goodness. It turns the adopted sons of God, the heirs of light, into servants of Satan and the children of darkness. It separates us from Christ, Who is the way, the truth and the life,³⁶ and afflicts our souls in many ways.

Original sin, which was transmitted to posterity from Adam, the first parent of the human race, is taken away through Baptism. No one escapes this stain,³⁷ but God's mercy in removing it should be recalled often, so that, mindful not only of the calamity [of original sin] but also of the favor of God [in removing it], we might cherish humility.

The mortal sins should be mentioned often by the preacher. In so doing he should say that they are mortal because they bring death to the soul. The best known group of these is made up of the seven deadly sins from which all others spring: Pride, Covetousness, Envy, Lust, Gluttony, Anger and Sloth.

³⁶ John: xiv, 16.

³⁷ In accordance with the preaching style of the period, if he were delivering a sermon instead of writing a textbook, Valiero would very probably have digressed at this point to discuss at some length the doctrine of the two outstanding exceptions to this statement, the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin and the tradition that John the Baptist was sanctified in his mother's womb.

Chapter X

On Avoiding Pride

Pride is the inordinate appetite for superiority. It consists in boasting of the goods which we have, not as having been given to us by God, but rather as if they were our own; or we claim for ourselves qualities which we do not have. Those who do this classify themselves as hypocrites. The Ecclesiastical Orator must show that this kind of pride is to be eliminated because nothing so separates us from Christ; because nothing is less consistent with human nature. Furthermore, he will say that where there is pride there is stupidity. As Saint Gregory writes, the proud man, who is exalted for his powers, finds death where there should be life, illness instead of health; he perishes when he should mend.

Let the preacher exhort the hearers of the word of God to consider often their own human frailty, and to contemplate the various misfortunes of this life so that they may be moved toward humility, the basis of the rest of the virtues.

Chapter XI

On Avoiding Covetousness

It will be easy to show that avarice is to be avoided since our Lord Himself so intensely despised the greedy for leading a most

miserable life and for being so hateful to other men and to themselves. This immoderate desire for having is to be avoided. The world and all that is in it belongs to the Lord,³⁸ Wealth lies in use, not in possession. Its unlawful use by wicked men is to be deplored. Rich men are the ministers of God, they are His overseers and stewards, especially of those riches He permits them to amass as a test of the trustworthiness of certain ones of them. Some he receives into the heavenly inheritance as a reward for their almsgiving, while to others He meted out eternal punishment as a sanction for their niggardliness. In this connection, the preacher will, if it seem fitting, quote these words of the Apostle James: "Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl in your miseries, which shall come upon you,"³⁹ and also the words of Saint Augustine, "Wee to those who seek perishable wealth and thereby lose eternal riches."

Chapter XII

On Avoiding Envy

No one doubts that envy is the daughter of pride, for the envious man grieves for the goods he does not have, and the reason he grieves is that he feels worthy of them. The Ecclesiastical

³⁸ I Corinthians: x, 26; Psalm xxiii, 1.

³⁹ James: v, 1.

Orator should point out that envy contains nothing good in itself unless it be as Isocrates says, because it tortures the envious.⁴⁰ Let the preacher add that it is a machination of the Devil whereby the crafty enemy seeks to trap the human race. Through envy he is able to seize upon even lofty natures, to contaminate even the virtuous and to pervert the proper mode of living.

Slander, that gravest of vices, is the sister of envy. Saint John Chrysostom says in a somewhat oratorical fashion that it is worse than murder, for the slanderer is a killer, one who, as it were, tears a reputation to shreds. One's good name is to be thought more of than life itself.

Chapter XIII

On Lust

Of lust, let the preacher tell his people at length that it takes away the use of reason, that it makes men beasts, that its companions are remorse and disgrace, that it is often [its own] punishment for sin.

Chapter XIV

On Avoiding Gluttony

When the preacher speaks of gluttony, the inordinate desire for

⁴⁰ Evagoras, 6. See also Antidosis, 14.

food, he must impress upon his people that they should eat to live, not live to eat. It takes very few things and in the very smallest amounts to satisfy nature. The sword has not claimed as many victims as gluttony. Gluttony is the mother of incontinence, the nourisher of illnesses and of many miseries. The Ecclesiastical Orator should rebuke even more sharply the poor who indulge their stomachs at the expense of the general welfare of their families.

Chapter XV

On Avoiding Wrath

The preacher will prove that wrath is to be avoided as the companion of ignorance, the enemy of good counsel, the mother of remorse, the nourisher of quarrels, enmities and many misfortunes. It is well to mark these words of Saint Augustine: "I wish you to be angry and sin not [Ephesians: iv, 26]. But to be angry and yet not to sin, at whom may you be angry but yourselves? For what is a penitent man but a man angry at himself?"

Chapter XVI

On Avoiding Sloth

When the Ecclesiastical Orator delivers a sermon on sloth, he will call it the fountainhead of vices, the teacher of pusillanimity and even of wickedness. Those who are burdened with this vice are not worthy to be called men. We have been created for activity,

mental and physical, even for hard work. Therefore Satan works at nothing harder than he does at gaining entrance to idle souls to subject them to his tyranny.

Chapter XVII

On Avoiding [a Share in] the Sins of Others

The Ecclesiastical Orator will remind his hearers often of the necessity of avoiding most assiduously the sins of others lest they harm us through some share we have in them. Men share in the sins of others by their counsel, command, consent, incitement [or urging of the sin], praise or flattery [of the sinner for his misdeed], silence, connivance, participation in the affairs of others, and by improper defense of the dead.

Authors, advisers or accomplices in the committing of any crime sin by counsel as did Achitophel, the wicked and unfortunate adviser Absalom used in plotting against his father.⁴¹ Those who are skilled in evil and exhort men to duelling to avenge their wrongs also sin by counsel. Since no victory can be more noble than the conquering of one self, they also sin by counsel who urge others to wantonness, as do those vilest of men, the panderers.

David, a man at other times high in God's favor, sinned by

⁴¹ II Kings: xv, xvi, xvii tells the story.

command when he ordered Uriah to be killed so that he might possess Bathsheba. Pilate sinned by consent in the death of our Lord Jesus Christ. Innumerable men sin thinking that because they abstain from the sin themselves they are inculpable even though they consent to the sins of others. And so we hear words like these: "The affair is his doing, it means nothing to me. Let him look to it."

The Ecclesiastical Orator will teach his people that the man who does not fight against sin in every way he can is himself guilty of sin. The wife of Blessed Job sinned by incitement when she said to him as he lay oppressed by his many misfortunes, "Curse God and die."⁴² Scoffers, who should be deterred by the example of those who mocked the prophet Isaias, are especially wont to fall into this kind of sin. Particularly sinful is the pleasant poison of flattery. Nothing falls more sweetly on mortal ears than the silly prattle of others in our praise. [So sweet is flattery that] men sometimes give ear to praises which rather they should admit they do not deserve. This vice is widely apparent in politics, in wealthy communities, and especially in the courts of princes. Pray God that there will be found few skilled flatterers among priests and others in religious life to beguile their superiors and bishops whom they should treat with a high degree of frankness, or to stifle zeal with their blandishments

⁴² Job: ii, 9.

and adulations.

Those who are silent when they should rebuke sin through reticence. They ignore these words of the prophet: "Cry, cease not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and shew my people their wicked doings."⁴³ Although this text has greater significance in the sermons which are customarily preached in the synods, yet it is sometimes necessary to explain it so that the people may become accustomed to hearing the rebukes of their pastors without offense. Rather should they, as justice demands, highly esteem those who admonish them. In explaining this text, the Ecclesiastical Orator will make it the occasion for exhorting men to their duty of denouncing anyone whom they know to be infected with the blemish of heresy. Otherwise by silence they share in the other's sin. Administrators, either ecclesiastical or civil, sin through connivance or complacency when they toady to popular favor [as when they permit or overlook evils in order to win or retain popular approval]. Parents and teachers are especially liable to sine in this category. They need to be admonished to punish the faults of their children lest God punish them as Holy Scripture tells us Eli was punished.⁴⁴ We include teachers in the category of parents because they are bound to a paternal affection for their students;

⁴³ Isaias: lviii, 1.

⁴⁴ I Kings: ii, 27-36.

[but more than this], in a manner of speaking, they beget them, since they imprint upon the minds of their pupils a knowledge of the finer things.⁴⁵

He who lends himself to the committing of a crime sins by participation. Aaron, the brother of Moses, sinned in this fashion when he and the people of Israel set up the golden calf in the desert.⁴⁶ Ordinarily, the severest violators in this regard are conspirators. Such were the brothers of Joseph who conspired against him.⁴⁷ Sins of defense are committed by lawyers who plead an unjust case for someone for the sake of either money or friendship. The preacher will offer many proofs for the necessity of avoiding this great crime.

Chapter XVIII

On Avoiding Sins against the Holy Spirit, and on Those Sins Which Cry out [for Vengeance] in Heaven

The Ecclesiastical Orator will impress upon his hearers that sins against the Holy Ghost are especially to be avoided by the Christian people. These are: despair of divine benevolence, opposition to recognized truth, begrudging brotherly love, obstinate and impertinent

⁴⁵ Cf. Quintilian, II, ix, 1.

⁴⁶ Exodus: xxxii, 4.

⁴⁷ Genesis: xxxvii, 18-28.

perseverance in sin. These are to be rebuked severely, for neither in this world nor in the next will they be forgiven. The preacher will remind his hearers that there are certain sins which demand vengeance in heaven. These are voluntary homicide, unnatural vices, the oppression of paupers, widows, and orphans and defrauding the laborer of his wages. In denouncing these sins, the preacher should not use words which will be offensive to pious men and especially to virgins because of obscenity. We shall take this up when we treat elocution [in Book III].

Even moderate and venial sins are to be avoided in so far as human infirmity permits, lest little by little we fall into mortal sins. The company of evil men is to be avoided for it is scarcely possible to touch pitch and not to be soiled.⁴⁸ Avoid curiosity, the sister of shamelessness and the nourisher of vanity. Eschew the theatre, stay away from public spectacles, take no part in frequent banqueting, for usually men retire from these pleasures worsened, and sometimes also saddened. Do not speak of yourself unless necessity requires it, as it sometimes did Saint Paul. In his Epistle to the Corinthians, [he says:] "They are the ministers of Christ (I speak as one less wise): I am more."⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Notice the perfect enthymeme, with credible conclusion based on highly probably premise.

⁴⁹ II Corinthians: xi, 23.

Chapter XIX

On the Things Which Must Be Done

It is not enough for the Christian to avoid evil, he must also do good. The Ecclesiastical Orator should exhort the followers of Christ to do those things which the law commands. He should explain that the word "law"⁵⁰ is derived either from that meaning "to choose,"⁵¹ for the reason that men choose what should be done, or from that meaning "to bind,"⁵² in that it keeps us from rushing headlong to our ruin.

From time to time, the following distinction in the law, taken from the scholastic doctors,⁵³ should be adduced by the preacher: Law is either human or divine. If we omit for the moment the eternal law, which is the highest form of legislation, which must always be obeyed, and certain of whose aspects we discern by the light of natural reason, we can distinguish divine law as being either natural or positive.⁵⁴

The natural law is rectitude of the intellect, the first rule

⁵⁰ lex.

⁵¹ eligere.

⁵² ligare.

⁵³ For example, Thomas Aquinas.

⁵⁴ Notice the deviation from the Aristotelian philosophy of law as stated in the Rhetoric, p. 55. Valliero reminds us that he held the doctor's degree in both theology and canon law, but the indication is that he has relaxed for a moment the limits he set for himself in the closing sentences of I, v, p. 44.

from which all things must take their mode of action. All principles of acting things are in accord with it. The Ecclesiastical Orator must set forth the necessity for submitting to this law which says that we must not do to another what we do not wish to be done to us.⁵⁵ The natural law is obscured by evil habits. Through them, we assume the behavior of wolves, foxes and other beasts.

Positive law can be divided into two categories, the old and the new. The old law, indeed the mosaic law, is certainly divine, but it consists of an imperfect image of the truth. It was given on account of transgression to point out sin. Its sacraments foreshadowed, but did not contain, grace. The new law, the Evangelical law, both contains grace, and by means of the most holy Sacraments, gives grace. It was given on account of justification. It is especially helpful in avoiding what has been recognized as a sin. It is to be called the expression of faith, the truth of God, the science of salvation, and the heavenly epistle. This divinely sent communication should be read often [to the people].

The preacher will say that we should have special veneration for the most holy Sacraments instituted by our Lord Jesus Christ, the King, the Teacher and the Physician of our souls. They have been given to us as medicines to cure our weaknesses, and [they

⁵⁵ See Matthew: vii, 12.

have been given to us] as instruments of divine grace and salvation.

In this connection, the preacher should point out that the Sacraments are tokens of a sacred truth, that is, visible signs of invisible grace by which we are joined to Christ as the members of a body are joined to the head.⁵⁶ Through the Sacraments we become Saints. Let the preacher show at great length that just as man is born, grows, is nourished, recovers his health after sickness, and finally regains his lost strength, so the soul is reborn through Baptism, strengthened by Confirmation, nourished by the Holy Eucharist, which is, as it were, our daily bread, restored to health by the Sacrament of Penance, and renewed by Extreme Unction, through which the gates of heaven are more easily opened. For administering these sacraments, the Sacrament of Orders is necessary. So also did our Lord Himself institute Holy Matrimony that we might avoid the dangerous tinder of concupiscence and at the same time swell the ranks of the people of God. Many sermons should be preached on this subject since nothing can be more useful to Christian people than the knowledge and the proper use of the most holy Sacraments. By such use, the people are aroused to a recognition of the innumerable benefits that God our most benign

⁵⁶ The concept of the Mystical Body of Christ is another favorite figure in all periods of Catholic writing: I Corinthians: xii, 12-13, and frequently elsewhere both in Scripture and in the writings of the fathers.

Father has bestowed upon us and bestows daily. They are moved to humility since through the visible elements [of the Sacraments] they see so much and such great grace follow. Also they can be roused to giving thanks since they know that the most holy Sacraments have been bequeathed to them by our Lord Jesus Christ as security for their salvation.

Let [the preacher] say [also] that three of the seven [Sacraments] cannot be received more than once without committing a great crime. These three are Baptism, Confirmation and Holy Orders. Frequent reception of the Sacraments of Penance and Holy Eucharist is to be especially recommended as most efficacious. There are many reasons for this and [there is available] a considerable amount of scriptural evidence by which the preacher will be able to prove this fact. Perhaps we will be able to speak of this matter at greater length in another place.⁵⁷ The preacher must exhort his hearers to receive the Sacrament of Extreme Unction whenever they are in danger of death from a serious illness. He will tell them that not only does it bring great solace to the soul, but it also affords relief and sometimes even healing to the body. We must take special care lest we leave this — life without receiving this Sacrament. It is most intensely to be hoped for and to be seen to, in so far as we are able, that in that last agony

⁵⁷ Infra, I, xlii, pp. 77-81.

we be refreshed by this salutary medicine while we are still of sound mind. Thereafter, the preacher will remind his people that it is to be taken as a proof of good conscience if anyone ask to receive this sacrament.

In speaking of marriage, the preacher will explain these words of the Apostle: "It is better to marry than to burn."⁵⁸ We cannot blame those who in two, or even three marriages seek to quench the flame of passion. The ones who deserve censure are those who by their unfit clamors and their uproar embarrass the men who use the remedy left to us by the divine Physician Himself. This, in certain places, is not done without scandal to holy men. Worthy of our praise, as Saint Paul also says, are those who instead of remarrying when their wives have died abstain from the inducements of physical pleasure so that they might serve God and give aid to His ministers.

When the Ecclesiastical Orator speaks on evangelical law, he will explain these few things we have touched upon. In regard to the number, effects, differences, rites and ministers of the Sacraments, the preacher, in strict conformity to the Roman Catechism, will, in so far as the time and place seem to demand, explain clearly the things which are found in the books of the holy theologians, especially the scholastics who have most diligently examined the thoughts of the fathers.

⁵⁸ I Corinthians: vii, 9; or Possibly I Corinthians: vii, 32.

Let us also warn the Ecclesiastical Orator to take care in his sermons on the evangelical law not to say too much about the mercy of God without also reminding his hearers of His divine justice; nor to say so much about the efficacy of faith in being saved, without explaining the usefulness and necessity of good works.

[The Ecclesiastical Orator] should warn [his people] to season all their actions with charity. He must teach that God is to be loved with the whole heart, the whole soul, and the whole mind, next our own souls and the souls of others, third, our own bodies, and fourth, the bodies of our neighbors. We must keep the Ten Commandments which are a compendium of the best things which are to be done in this life.

However, when he speaks of the positive law, the Ecclesiastical Orator will be able to introduce into his sermon many things concerning the authority of the Supreme Pontiff, the Vicar of Christ, the legitimate successor of Saint Peter. We shall speak of this in another place.⁵⁹ The preacher must also show the necessity for obeying canon law because it agrees with divine law. The same is true of civil law. As long as there is no discrepancy between it and divine law, the civil law must be obeyed. Finally, the Ecclesiastical Orator will teach that all these things which are done with virtue must be done.

⁵⁹ Infra, I, xlv.

Chapter XX

On the Demonstrative Mode of Speaking and on Descriptions
of Certain Christian Virtues

Now that we have explained the elements of deliberative speech, we must next treat that type of speaking we have called demonstrative. This kind of oratory consists in praising and blaming. Holy men are most often engaged in this demonstrative mode, so that in praising the servants of God (for they alone among men are worthy of praise) they might give glory to the Lord of heaven and earth, and the Prince and Benefactor of all good things, and enkindle the people to the imitation of these [saintly persons]. Indeed, in censuring tyrants, ministers of the Devil, and [other] wicked men, let them urge [the people] to give thanks when these [wicked men] are removed from their midst. Saint Gregory Naziansen used this kind of speaking in his orations against Julian [the Apostate].

Since truly nothing in the Christian commonwealth is praiseworthy unless it flow from religion, and unless it be seasoned with true piety, let us define piety, and religion, and let us propose a method of inventing⁶⁰ propositions which pertain to true praise. God's greatest gift to man is to let him be born in the Christian religion.

⁶⁰ Valiero means this in a strict Aristotelian sense. Invenire is to find or discover.

The word religion comes from the word meaning "to bind,"⁶¹ because we are united and bound by a certain chain, that is, Christ, to God the Father, the Prince of all things. By faith, hope and charity, we pay to God a debt of adoration. It is the imitation of Christ, the perfect justice, the right rule of love. Piety is the obedience which is rendered first to God, then to others whom God has set forth for our respect, such as parents, priests, kings, princes, teachers, our elders.

Now I want to describe the Christian virtues,⁶² not [in any acute fashion] as the scholastics do, but in a somewhat pedestrian manner [so that the clergy for whom we write may more easily find in them a source of sermon material]. Faith is the habit by which we firmly assent to what has been revealed by God. It is the doorway to salvation and the foundation of religion. Hope is the certain expectation of future beatitude, the joyful companion of the spiritual life, our best counsellor in adverse affairs. Charity is the final end of the law, the form of the virtues, the soul of Christian life. It teaches us patience, humility and all good things. It is God's road to men and the highway of men to God. It is the cause and the mother of all the virtues, and if we lack it we have all the others in vain.⁶³ If, however,

⁶¹ religare.

⁶² Compare what follows with Aristotle, pp. 46-48.

⁶³ See I Corinthians: xiii.

we have charity, we have all the other virtues. The soul of the man that is adorned with this virtue is rich in spite of the most dismal poverty. He abounds in all good things because he dwells in God and God in him. The nourisher of faith and hope, and the companion of charity, is prayer. Prayer can be described as the elevation of the mind to God, communication with God. It is the key by which [the gates of] heaven are opened, the sword by which we withstand the onslaughts of Satan. Devotion is the manifest will to serve God, the completely free sacrifice of our own will. It is the daughter of religion, the nourisher of all good deeds. Prudence is the recognition of the things that are to be avoided and the things that are to be sought after, as the divine Gregory writes. It is the mother of industry and the teacher of such salutary precepts as: Know Thyself. Nothing in excess.⁶⁴ Cherish the golden mean.⁶⁵ Justice is the constant and perpetual will to render to each what is his: veneration to God and the

⁶⁴ Both these maxims are, of course, widely known and variously attributed. It is interesting to note, however, their proximity in this excerpt from "A Letter of Consolation to Appolonius," in the *Moralia* of Plutarch, 115, 28: "There are two of the inscriptions at Delphi which are most indispensable to living. These are: 'Know thyself' and 'Avoid extremes,' for on these two commandments hang all the rest." Frank Cole Babbitt, *Plutarch's Moralia* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1927), II, p. 183.

⁶⁵ Cf. Horace, *Odes*, II, x, 2:

Auream quisquis mediocritatem
diligit, tutus caret obsoleti
sordibus tecti, caret invidenda
sobrius aula.

the saints, obedience and reverence to priests and parents, due honor to kings, mutual love to all. It is the virtue which benefits others more than self, as Saint Ambrose writes. Equal to justice is Christian liberality which we call almsgiving. Through it we advance loans to God [in the only just kind of usury there is] and thus [as it were] ransom our sins.

Fortitude is firmness of soul in the face of troubles, the bearing of the burdens of the world, and the enduring of evils. He who is gifted with this habit fears nothing but evil. He accepts adversity bravely, and prosperity with moderation. He even scorns death since it is inescapable. It is strength of will, the safeguard of virtue, the expeller of vices, the wise conqueror of perils. The most excellent fortitude among Christians, however, is that of the martyrs, because it is indeed the end of transgressions, the cessation of perils, the guide to salvation, the true teacher of patience.

Temperance is the firm and moderate domination of the will over passion and other unlawful impulses. It is love, preserving itself virtuous and incorrupt for God. Temperance is the companion of fasting because it is the best custodian of the body, the guarded house, the shelter of strong men. It is distinguished for bravery in war, the teacher of quietitude in time of peace.

Holy men praise modesty, chastity and virginity as the daughters of temperance. Tertullian describes modesty as the

"flower⁶⁶ of morals, the ornament of the body, the propriety of the senses,⁶⁷ the integrity of the family, the faith of the race and the foundation of chastity."

Indeed, we call chastity the safeguard of sanctity and the token of sincerity. Virginity, to borrow Cyprian's description, is "the flower of the ecclesiastical seed, the honor and ornament of spiritual grace, a cheerful disposition, a virtuous and incorrupt masterpiece of praise and honor, the image of God, resplendent in the sanctity of the Lord, a more illustrious share in the society of Christ."

Perseverance is the noblest of Christian virtues, the daughter of the loftiest king, nourisher of constancy, the sister of patience, the preserver of interior peace. Without this virtue, no one can enter the Kingdom of heaven.

Elemental among all Christian virtues, however, is humility, for without it, no one can make any progress in Christian philosophy. Humility is the bending of one's mind before [the will of] God. It is the art of knowing and rejecting one's self and human things, of fleeing from vain little glories, of giving preference to others over self. It is the most faithful minister of wisdom, for no one can be

⁶⁶ Or crown.

⁶⁷ A misquotation. Tertullian, Liber de Pudicitia, I, says "sexes," sexuum, rather than "senses," sensuum, as Valiero quotes him. A strong feeling grows that Valiero quoted oftentimes from memory because many of his quotations are paraphrases (although very close ones) rather than verbatim quotes.

called wise unless he is humble. From this virtue ensues Christian magnanimity, which consists in forgiving injuries and fleeing from honors. It is evident that all actions which proceed from these virtues are to be praised, and those which arise from their contraries are to be blamed. But worthy of greater praise are those actions which join us more closely with God and make us more like Him. These are, for example, works of charity and mercy, and likewise any acts that give greater glory to God, such as those of the martyrs and the like.

Chapter XXI

Only Rarely Should the Ecclesiastical Orator Praise the Living, and Then Only to a Very Slight Degree. The Sources of Arguments to be Used for Praise.

The Ecclesiastical Orator should very rarely give praise to the living. Since no one can say whether another is in the grace of God, he will not know whether to praise or blame. Then too, as long as we are alive, we are engaged in the struggle against not only domestic enemies, but also others more fierce, and the outcome of the battle is uncertain. Finally, care must be taken lest the orator, in pouring forth the sweet poison of his praise, bring harm to the living and himself sink into the marked evil of flattery. Let him save his praise for funerals. Take the speeches of the holiest of [Christian] men. Compare them with the Menexenus of

Plato, with that oration of Pericles that is found in Thucydides, and with the speech that Isocrates wrote in praise of Evagoras [What I am about to say] is especially true of that most eloquent of theologians, the Christian Demosthenes, Gregory Nazianzen, a very saintly man, [and it may also be seen if] one reads other orations in this class: those in praise of Athanasius and Basil the Great among others. From these speeches it can be gathered that the sources of praise can be drawn principally from three periods of time. The first of these, to be sure, is that which precedes the birth of the one who is to be praised, the next, the time during which he lived, and the third, that which followed his death.⁶⁸ In the first period, his home, his parents, and his ancestors are considered. Of these it is well either to extol their nobility or throw light upon their obscurity.⁶⁹ To this period belong the prophecies and the divine revelations by which they can be praised.⁷⁰ Isaac, Jacob, John the Baptist and many other very holy men were given to their parents as God's answer to the assiduous prayers [of a long and barren marriage]. There were many illustrious predictions about those men even before they were born. Blessed Gregory Nazianzen

⁶⁸ Quintilian, III, vii, 10.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 11.

praises Basil most elegantly in his own native Greek with these words: "First, Pontus, the birthplace of his father, supplies us with very many arguments of praise on the paternal side. Indeed no less are we supplied by the ancient prophecies with which the books of historians and poets are filled. Then also Cappadocia, my own native soil, distinguished for her dignity, no less famous as a breeder of men than of horses, adds many arguments of praise."

In the second period,⁷¹ there are to be considered the virtues with which the man was endowed: his education, the offices, both public and private, which were entrusted to him, his deeds, his close companions, his friendships, and especially those things which one would pour forth at the moment of his death. Here the orator will be able to make a case upon concurrent circumstances to show that he who is being praised performed deeds worthy of his home, his ancestors, his education and his own former deeds. The orator will be able to show also that he gave examples of virtue for all time, and that he was for that reason not busy chasing empty little glories, but that in so far as he was able, he sought to augment the glory of God and to withstand the tyranny of Satan.

In these matters it is especially important to relate what he is seen to have done beyond the expectation of men.⁷² Especially worthy

⁷¹ Ibid., 12-16.

⁷² This concept of winning praise by performing deeds "above and beyond the call of duty" has persisted. Cf. also Aristotle, pp. 51, 53.

of praise is a person who has been the only one, or one of few, or the first to do anything well.⁷³ In this regard, our Lord is especially to be praised. Him alone is it proper to call by that illustrious name Jesus. It is a name above all others, at which every knee bends, in heaven, on the earth, and under the earth.⁷⁴ He alone was born of the Virgin. He alone rose from the dead by His own power to die no more.⁷⁵

Likewise is the Blessed Virgin Mary to be most highly praised, for she alone gave birth to the Son of God. She alone remained a virgin before, during and after giving birth. She alone is called full of grace, the mother of mercy, the queen of heaven, the mistress of the angels.

Saint John the Evangelist is also worthy of the highest praise. To him alone did Christ give the honor of the name Beloved. Upon his breast Christ lay His head at the Last Supper. He was the one who heard those most sweet words: "Behold thy mother."⁷⁶

No one man can be said to represent the image of any one virtue, for Christ, God and man, represented the exemplar of all virtues. A few have done what Stephen [The first martyr] did in

⁷³ Ibid., p. 53.

⁷⁴ Philippians: ii, 10.

⁷⁵ Romans: vi, 9.

⁷⁶ John: xix, 27.

praying for those by whom he was stoned.⁷⁷ A few have given up empires and withdrawn into monasteries as the great emperor Charles V did in his more advanced years. A few, indeed a very few, have abdicated the Pontificate, as did Celestine, from whom the Celestine monks took their name. Even if those who measure everything in this life in terms of privileges and honors do not praise him, still his loftiness of soul is praiseworthy. This man, distinguished by his desire for eternal glory, scorned those things which others so greatly admire. Mindful of his own salvation, he chose the safer course, to obey rather than to rule; and so, on account of these and other excellent virtues, he is enrolled, by a judicial pronouncement of the holy Church, in the roster of the saints.

In the third portion of the funeral oration,⁷⁸ there are to be considered the honors rendered him after his death: sorrow, lamentation, mourning. In his praise of Basil, Saint Gregory Nazianzen treats this topic most excellently:

The holy man was brought forth carried on the hands of other holy men. Everyone sought eagerly to snatch a thread from his garments, or only to touch his body or

⁷⁷ Acts: vii, 59.

⁷⁸ Quintilian and Valiero agree here only in that the period subsequent to a man's death may be treated in a demonstrative oration.

the bier on which the saint was borne. For what could be more holy or more precious than that body?

And a little later he says:

Immediately the porches and public places were filled with men preceding him, accompanying him, following him. He was surrounded on all sides by men of every age and rank in greater numbers than were ever known before that day. The Psalms were at first impeded and finally overcome by the lamentation. Because of the greatness of their sorrow, they could suffer no more in silence. Our people⁷⁹ contended with others, the pagans, the Jews and the foreigners, as to whose more abundant tears reaped the more fruitful benefit.

Holy men have found comparisons useful in giving praise, as did Gregory in lauding Basil, comparing him with great eloquence to each of the Fathers of the Testament, to John the Baptist and to the Apostles. We reject that topic proposed by Aristotle based on the similarity of the vices and the virtues.⁸⁰ It is useless and dangerous to the Ecclesiastical Orator. Nothing is more foreign to the Christian religion than to lie, and so the speaker who calls a timid man cautious, a cunning one prudent, an enraged fellow frank, and a stupid oaf mild, is himself not to be called a Christian orator, but a seducer and a minister of Satan. The same very profound philosopher wrote that a great importance lies in where anyone is praised.⁸¹ In our opinion,

⁷⁹ Presumably the Christians.

⁸⁰ Rhetoric, I, 9. It was rejected also by Quintilian, III, vii, 25. See Isaiah: xxxii, 5.

⁸¹ Rhetoric, I, 9. Aristotle says that the attitude of the audience toward any quality must be the attitude of the orator toward that quality. Different audiences will esteem different qualities. However, it is Quintilian, III, vii, 23, who quotes Aristotle as saying that ubi quidque laudetur is of importance.

this ought not to be considered of such great moment, for no matter where or whom we praise, our high esteem is given only to those things which have a close connection with piety, so that the Christian world may have the aspect of a single community.

Chapter XXII

Amplification as Used by the Ecclesiastical Orator is Very Different from That Used by Secular Orators

Since all the praise which the Ecclesiastical Orator renders to holy men has as its chief end the impelling of its hearers to the imitation of those who are praised, it will be the duty of the orator to make frequent use of amplification in this demonstrative mode of speaking. However, it will not be for the reason that Isocrates gives. He said that it is the business of the orator by his speaking to extol what is in reality puny and to make what is great seem small.⁸²

⁸² This statement appears in Panegyricus, 8. However, Valiero does not seem to transmit the real attitude of Isocrates in the matter. The latter says that ". . . oratory is of such a nature that it is possible to discourse on the same subject matter in many different ways--to represent the great as lowly or invest the little with grandeur. . . ." George Norlin, Isocrates with an English Translation (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1928) Italics mine. What seems very possible is that Valiero is influenced in his interpretation of Isocrates by Longinus, Plutarch or Plato. The latter, of course, in his Phaedro, 267 A, credits Tisias and Gorgias with this same view. Plutarch, in his Lives of the Orators, 838 F, attributes the statement in question to Isocrates as his definition of rhetoric /Longinus/ On the Sublime, xxxviii, quotes the passage. See Norlin, I, pp. 124-5, Note a. It becomes apparent, as far as this particular statement is concerned that Valiero did not even have to be familiar with Isocrates. See also De Oratore, III, xxvi, 104; Orator, XXVI, 127.

Instead, we should attach to a thing only that importance which it deserves. This is nothing more than recalling men to soundness of judgment. The term amplification is used when the arguments themselves are expanded for a greater effect upon the audience. This expansion is accomplished sometimes by words and sometimes by things.⁸³

These arguments can be taken from the same topics as the praises themselves.

The amplification of Blessed Bernard on Pope Eugene, taken from the character of the Pope himself, is beautiful.

Thou art a great priest and the Supreme Pontiff; thou art the Prince of Bishops, and the heir of the Apostles. Thou art Abel in primacy, Noah in governance, Abraham in patriarchal dignity, Melchisedec in order,⁸⁴ Aaron in dignity, Moses in authority, Samuel in administration of justice, Peter in power, Christ in anointing. To thee the keys have been transmitted.

The holy Bishop Maximus,⁸⁵ speaking of John the Baptist, used amplification in these words:

⁸³ Quintilian, VIII, iv, 1-3; Cicero, De Partitione Oratoria, XV, 55. Valiero simplifies the classic doctrine of amplificatio considerably in that with Cicero and Quintilian the whole concept of argumentation seems to have rested on amplification, whereas with Valiero it is reduced to "greater effect upon the audience."

⁸⁴ This phrase would not be obscure to the clergy present when Saint Bernard preached this sermon. Melchisedec was the first man under the old law to offer what the words of the Canon of the Mass call "a pure victim, a holy victim, a spotless victim." Every priest is "a priest forever, according to the order of Melchisedec."

⁸⁵ First known Bishop of Turin. Lived from about 380 to about 465.

It is fitting that we render particular honor to him. By some special grace, he was the last of the prophets to foretell the coming of the Redeemer of the world, and the first to reveal Christ, for he alone of the prophets was privileged to see with his own eyes and announce the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ, Whose coming had been foretold by others for so many years. It is he whom the prophet Isaiah, inspired by God, foretold, saying, "The voice of one crying in the desert: Prepare ye the way of the Lord Isaiah: xi, 3/." How fitting it is, dearest brothers, that Blessed John be called the Voice, for it was he who was sent as the witness and herald of the heavenly Word. His birth, name and preference were foretold by the Angel Gabriel. He was given preference over all mortals by divine judgment when our Lord said: "There hath not risen among them that are born of women a greater than John the Baptist Matthew: xi, 11/."

Saint John Chrysostom, speaking of the blessed Apostles

Peter and Paul, made most distinguished use of amplification in these words:

Therefore I love Rome, and yet I can praise her for reasons other than her size, antiquity, beauty, empire, riches, and bravery in war. I reject all of these, and proclaim her blessed because Saints Peter and Paul, as long as they lived, were so benevolent, so loving toward her. Finally, they died in her arms. She holds their holy bodies, and this fact distinguishes her more than all other things. It is as if she were a great and powerful body with two shining eyes, the bodies of these saints. The heavens themselves do not shine so brightly in the rays of the sun as does the city of the Romans shining forth these two lamps over the whole world. From this tomb, Paul will be raised up, from that one Peter. Consider and tremble at the spectacle Rome will witness: Paul rising from the tomb with Peter, their meeting with the Lord on high. What a rose Rome will offer to Christ! By what two crowns the city is ornamented! By what golden chains she is girt! What sort of foundations she has! I admire this city not because of her gold, nor because of her columns, nor for any other thing than these two columns of the Church. Who will now grant me to be entwined around the body of Paul? to be affixed to his sepulchre? to see the dust of the body of him who fulfills what was heretofore lacking to Christ?⁸⁶ of him who bears the stigma?

⁸⁶ Colossians: 1, 24.

Since the rule of contraries applies to amplification, these same rules are to be used for blaming. Saint John Chrysostom, inveighing against wicked women, used this very excellent amplification on the beheading of Saint John the Baptist:

No beast in this world is like a wicked woman. Which among the four legged animals is more savage than the lion? But he is as nothing compared to such a woman. Among the serpents, which is more hideous than the dragon? Indeed, it cannot be likened to an evil and talkative woman, for both the lion and the serpent are her inferiors in evil. The most wise Solomon attests to these words of mine when he says: "It will be more agreeable to abide with a lion and a dragon, than to dwell with a wicked woman [Ecclesiasticus: xxv, 25]."

Chrysostom confirms this by amplifying it at great length and says in conclusion:

For no malice can rival that of a wicked woman. Again Solomon bears witness to what I say, for no source is beyond the source of wisdom, and "all malice is short to the malice of a woman [Ecclesiasticus: xxv, 26]."

O woman, greatest evil, and sharpest weapon of the Devil! Because of a woman, he subverted Adam in Paradise and exiled him from the garden of Eden [Genesis: iii]. Through a woman, he provoked the unhappy David to order the death of his innocent soldier Uriah Ethaeus by a trick [II Kings: xi, 14-17]. Through a woman, he precipitated the wise Solomon into a violation of his duty [I Kings: xi, 4]. Through a woman, he blinded the mighty Samson, mocked and shorn, so that robbed of strength, hair and eyes, he became an object of scorn to enemies to whom he had earlier been an object of terror. As a slave, he trod the mills with those whom before his defeat he had dominated [Judges: xvi]. Through a woman, he cast into prison the innocent Joseph, bound in chains [Genesis: xxxix]. Through a woman, he cut off the head of John the Baptist, the lamp of the whole world [Matthew: xiv; Mark: vi]. And what shall I say about men? Through a woman, Satan has cast angels out of heaven, that is, holy men who were striving for heaven. Through woman, he subverts and slays everything as a whole, kills all, deceives those who are filled with disgrace and empty of honor.

This continues at too great a length to include all of it here.

Amplification is both useful and necessary for the Ecclesiastical Orator for manifesting and visualizing the gravity of sins and especially those such as defamation and the like which are not considered to be important by the mass of the people. Thus indisputably he will picture the gravity of blasphemy, because it is a sin against God, against the Father of the human race from Whom we have received innumerable favors. The preacher will show that many men are blasphemers because they attribute to fate what should be attributed to the providence of God; because they do not have confidence in God the Author of all things; because they do not recognise His omniscience. In his sermons on this sin, the preacher will also point out[—] that blasphemers are particularly ungrateful. Their sin is so much the graver in that they sin from malice without the satisfaction of any natural desire for human pleasure.

Let me advise the clergy that in the consideration of the demonstrative mode they should practice commonplaces on the good of death, on scorning this life, on the very great and very grave perils to which we are exposed. At the close of a sermon in the demonstrative mode[—], the preacher should conclude that the one who has been praised has been received at the gates of heaven. Be sure to recount his outstanding virtues so that the hearers may be led to imitate him.

As a final word about the demonstrative mode, it may be said that angels are praised by their attributes: that is, they contemplate God, they minister to Him, they enjoy eternal light, and they live together in their heavenly home without any peril or anxiety.

Chapter XXIII

A Short Chapter on the Judicial Mode

Secular rhetoricians such as Aristotle, Cicero and Quintilian, have written a great deal about the judicial mode. None, or at least very little of this, can be of use to the clergy for whom we especially write. We say this is a short chapter because only very rarely and to a very small extent do we read instances of the habitual use of this mode among the fathers. It is well constituted, however, for handling accusation and defense. Now, the clergy have no need for accusation because, understanding human frailty and the mercy of God, they have before their eyes the ideal of the correction of morals rather than the rendering of severe justice. Priests, however, are permitted to bring charges in the sacred councils when they pertain to the honor of God and the welfare of the people. Strict justice must be observed in these matters so that those who accuse do so out of zeal for God's honor. They must not be motivated by hatred; they must not be prompted by any desire for personal gain or for vain glory.

Those to whom accusations are made must have the authority to render judgment. He who is accused must be such a person that he corrupts others by his own perverted morals. From these points, it may be gathered that if it is necessary, the clergy have the obligation to accuse heretics, although disputes of this sort are not permitted at this time in the Church of God.⁸⁷ Rather are trials to be conducted with witnesses, conjectures [reasonable inference based on evidence], and familiarity with the facts [as a civil case is conducted]. If in any General Council or Provincial Synod, pronouncements must be made against the disseminators of perverse doctrines, it must be shown that the inviolable limits of the truth are not to be passed. Holy Mother Church, enlightened by the Holy Spirit, must never give ground where the truth is concerned. It must be taught that she is the teacher and the arbiter of the truth, and the expeller of all errors; that it is the mark of the wicked man to desert her; that the gravest of sins is heresy, so much the graver than others because it brings death to many, it disrupts kingdoms, devastates commonwealths, and inflicts many misfortunes on God's people.

Now, having touched upon the extent to which judicial speaking will be of benefit to the Ecclesiastical Orator, let us proceed to

⁸⁷ Perhaps the meaning is that such accusations must be remanded to the "sacred councils" just mentioned: either to the synods, or if necessity demanded, to the Inquisition. The sentence following seems to suggest the latter.

the first part of the judicial mode, which pertains to accusation, and in turn to the second, which considers defense. It is with the second of these that the Ecclesiastical Orator is much more frequently concerned. Through it he consoles oppressed men and defends the innocent. An example of this kind is to be found in Saint Paul's Acts of the Apostles. When a certain Tertullus accused Paul of being seditious, of disturbing the peace, he defended himself in the presence of his accuser, and in a short time showed the crime of which he was accused to be false. ⁸⁸

Another example of defense is to be found in the Apologia Tertullian wrote against the heathens. Here he proves that accusations of evil inspired by hatred should not be brought against the Christians. He writes thus:

Nature imbues every evil with either fear or shame. Evil-doers have a passionate desire for secrecy; they avoid being seen. When they are apprehended they quail; when they are accused they deny; nor even when they are tortured do they easily or often confess. Certainly when they are condemned they wail. They point out in themselves the forces of evil and they impute these either to fate or to the stars. For since they recognize the evil, they do not want it to be their own. Is this anything like the Christian? He shames no one. He displeases no one. If he is stigmatized, he is glorified. If he is accused, he offers no defense. If he is questioned, he confesses voluntarily. If he is condemned, he gives thanks. What sort of evil is this that has none of the nature of evil, that has no fear, no subterfuge, no grovelling penitence nor lamentation? What sort of evil is it that Christians rejoice in its occurrence? that being accused of it is their prayer? the punishment for which is taken as a joy?

⁸⁸ Acts: xxiv.

Just defenses are to be taken up for the glory of God or for the dignity of the Christian name, as did Tertullian whom I have just quoted. We must defend the most holy religion of our Lord Jesus Christ and the authority of the Holy Apostolic See even at the peril of our lives. [Moreover,] everyone should protect his own reputation and good name. Those who are overwhelmed by false accusations must be rendered immediate aid whether it be in a court of law or in any other place. But the cleric must take care lest he seem to curry the favor of the crowd by frequent defenses, and to seek the empty applause of the mob. He may occasionally make a plea for another man's pardon if the man in whose behalf the defense is made has given many indications of probity and Christian piety and if he has committed the sin [of which he is accused] only once. Since defense is nothing more than the warding off of a verdict passed, and since it occasionally happens that the helpless, those destitute of any means, are the ones accused, it is evident that the priest may defend the causes of his [spiritual] children, of those whom God has committed to his care. Let him show that the verdict is false, that the accusation was made with ill will, that it is not fitting that a servant of God be oppressed with calumny.

Priests must be especially careful not to use the most holy Sacraments, the instruments of eternal salvation, as proofs in either accusing or defending anybody. Suppose a priest were to affirm

that he who is accused is not a traitor because at the time he was confessing his sins he did not confess the sin of treason, or that he who accuses is a liar because the priest knows from having heard the accused man's confession many times that he is a good man. The priest who defends his children in this manner detracts from the authority of the Sacrament of Penance and is of too little aid to his people.⁸⁹

[To this point, then,] we have outlined the subject matter of the Ecclesiastical Orator and shown that it is to be divided into three kinds of causes [the demonstrative, the deliberative and the judicial]. Now let us exemplify the methods by which the orator can attain his goal.⁹⁰

Chapter XXIV

That As the Other Arts, Ecclesiastical Rhetoric Has Its Own Instruments Which are the Enthymeme and the Example. What the Enthymeme Is and Where It May Be Found.

No art lacks its proper function, nor does any art attain the end established for it, unless it be through the employment of its

⁸⁹ To say nothing of committing a very serious sin himself by breaking the seal of Confession. Valiero makes his statement so mild in view of the fact that he is speaking to the clergy who already know the seriousness of the matter.

⁹⁰ This practice of recapitulation and prognosis appears frequently in Aristotle.

own techniques. The doctor cannot restore or conserve health except through the diet, which is the proper use of nourishment, or by purging medicines, or by the incision of a blood vessel. Nor can a smith make anything without a hammer. So the Ecclesiastical Orator cannot attain his most noble end without teaching, moving and counselling.⁹¹ Moreover, since he teaches principally by proofs, that is, arguments, let us define the term argument. An argument is discourse by which one arouses belief in the thing of which he speaks. Cicero defines argument as "a probable device to create belief."⁹² Belief, however, comes through the use of the enthymeme and the example.⁹³ We may call these the tools or devices of oratory through which the orator achieves victory.

The enthymeme is an incomplete syllogism.⁹⁴ That form of

⁹¹ A much more precise statement of the Ciceronian doctrine will be found infra, II, 1.

⁹² De Partitione Oratoria, II, 5. Cf. also Topica, II, 8.

⁹³ Aristotle says, "Whenever men in speaking effect persuasion through proofs, they do so either by examples or enthymemes; they use nothing else." p. 10.

⁹⁴ It is easy to see how this misconception could arise. Aristotle says, p. 12, that if one of the premises of the syllogism is a matter of common knowledge, it does not have to be included in the speaker's chain of argument since the hearer will himself supply the link. From this it was an easy step for later writers to make the suppression of one or other of the premises of the syllogism an essential note of the enthymeme. Quintilian says of the enthymeme, V, x, 3, "Some call it a rhetorical syllogism, others an incomplete syllogism, because its parts are not so clearly defined or of the same number as those of the regular syllogism, since such precision is not especially required by the orator." In this connection, see the splendid article by James H. McBurney, "The Place of the Enthymeme in Rhetorical Theory," Speech Monographs, III (1936), 49-74.

reasoning called the syllogism has, as everyone knows, three parts, the proposition [major premise], the assumption [minor premise], and the conclusion. If one of the three is omitted, the other two make up an argument called an enthymeme.⁹⁵ For example, if one were to argue that liberality is to be praised because it is a virtue, he would be omitting the major premise, which is: All virtues are to be praised. The minor premise and the conclusion alone are set forth. The speaker does this in order not to bore the audience, and even more in order that he may not seem to think them slow of wit. Moreover, not only does the Ecclesiastical Orator draw his arguments from causes and from principles which prove the matter necessarily, [that is, not only does he use the logical syllogism with its premises drawn from certainties,] such as divine word, holy traditions, the authority of the Church, and from others which will be explained later,⁹⁶ but in his speaking he also uses enthymemes, which are selected from signs and probabilities.⁹⁷ Some signs are certain, and some are not at all certain.⁹⁸ Those are called certain which follow from a thing necessarily,⁹⁹ as for example, the

⁹⁵ As a matter of fact, an enthymeme can be stated in precise syllogistic form, and still be an enthymeme.

⁹⁶ Infra, I, xlii-xlix.

⁹⁷ Aristotle, p. 13.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

Ecclesiastical Orator might prove that there is no love of God in these who, while they are mortal, nourish an immortal wrath,¹⁰⁰ These signs are least certain which do not follow necessarily from a fact.¹⁰¹ For example, if one were to say that men who are given over to many different licenses and who have not the slightest interest in sermons are infidels even while they are called Christians, [or] or that they rarely if ever receive the most holy Sacrament of the Eucharist [and are therefore infidels, such a form of argument would be invalid, for] all of these things can proceed not only from infidelity but also [for example] from incontinence. In this matter, [the Ecclesiastical Orator] will refrain from the form of speaking which some preachers have been accustomed to use wherein they improperly affirm that the incontinent, the avaricious and the ambitious have no faith.

A probability is that which is ordinarily true,¹⁰² as, for example, a man born of good Catholic parents, and educated in the Church, will avoid heretics. As their writings testify, the Fathers of the Church made use of all these methods: certain and uncertain signs, and probabilities.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 151.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p. 13.

¹⁰² Ibid.

In preparing enthymemes, observe these rules: Use materials neither too far removed from the point at hand, nor seemingly too familiar, nor that which has been gathered indiscriminately. One who falls into these faults will ruin his own reputation as a speaker and alienate his hearers. They will not listen freely to frivolous things or to those which are too common.

Chapter XXV

What the Example Is and Whence It Is Drawn

An example is the proving of one particular thing from another particular thing.¹⁰³ It is called imperfect induction. For instance, one may show from Mohammedan impiety that this vice is the nourisher of pride, avarice, lust, and of all vices and disasters. And so, in sermons to the people,¹⁰⁴ examples have a very great force in persuading, for the common saying is quite true: Examples move more than words. The Ecclesiastical Orator, then, will make frequent use of examples. Let him take care, however, lest while he exerts himself to illustrate everything he says with examples, he fall into that error which crept in more than two hundred years ago;

¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 14.

¹⁰⁴ The recurrent use of the phrase "to the people" has real meaning in that Valiero is making a definite distinction between sermons preached "to the people," ad populum, as he says here, and "in the synods," in synodis, or "to congregations [of religious]," ad congregationes. The techniques of sermon building are the same in every case, but the topics used and the matters discussed are often quite different.

that is, the reciting of completely improbable fictions and absurdities.¹⁰⁵ Moreover, examples should be drawn from sources that are true, weighty, and illustrious, especially from Christ our Lord, Whom we call the exemplar of all virtues. He has said of Himself: "For I have given you an example, that as I have done to you, so you do also."¹⁰⁶ Holy Scripture offers a fertile source of examples for confirming anything that must be taken up with the people. Judith used examples [drawn from the actions] of the ancient Fathers to encourage her fellow citizens when they were surrounded by a most severe siege and were dejected in spirit, urging them to constancy and faith in God.¹⁰⁷ Christ our Saviour exhorts us to tolerance through the example of the prophets. He deters us from inconstancy by the example of the wife of Lot.¹⁰⁸ By reciting the terrible punishments of the Jews, who had fallen into similar sins, Blessed Paul teaches us abstinence from idolatry, fornication,

¹⁰⁵ Among the abuses listed by Filhol, Archbishop of Aix-en-Provence, charged with the responsibility of preparing a report on abuses in the use of Holy Scripture, was just this sort of thing, the "abus . . . provenant de l'application des paroles de l'Ecriture detournées de leur vrais sens, a des superstitions ou divinations coupables." A. Michel, Les Decrets du Concile de Trente (Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané, 1938), p. II. The most outrageous example of this that I have seen is the "Nemo" exercise described by Gerald Robert Owst, Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England (Cambridge: The University Press, 1933), pp. 63-64. These abuses were rampant during the period of the decline that followed the great preaching of the thirteenth century, or, as Valiero says, "more than two hundred years ago"

¹⁰⁶ John: xiii, 15.

¹⁰⁷ Judith: viii, 21-27.

¹⁰⁸ Luke: xvii, 32, in reference to Genesis: xix, 26.

murmuring and other evils.¹⁰⁹ Very moving examples may be taken from the Apostles, martyrs, confessors and all the others whom Holy Mother Church teaches us to venerate, invoke and imitate. This is especially true on the feast days of the saints from whom we have drawn examples. It is also very helpful toward success to introduce into the sermon the deeds or thoughts of those who have been outstanding in the community where the sermon is being preached. For example, in Milan, it would be very helpful in persuading to commemorate some deed or saying of Saint Ambrose.¹¹⁰ By the same method, the people of Verona are moved to some particular virtue by the example and authority of Saint Zeno.¹¹¹ We are more greatly moved by examples close to home, and we are usually incredibly impressed by the virtues of our own ancestors. Sometimes, although rarely, examples drawn from pagans and foreigners appear in sacred literature. If these are introduced into the sermon, they have great force as examples to the contrary. They have the added force of that method of argument which is called from greater to lesser.¹¹² An example of this kind of argument is found in Jeremias. He says:

¹⁰⁹ I Corinthians: x, 7-10.

¹¹⁰ The great Saint Ambrose was Bishop of Milan from 374 to 397.

¹¹¹ Bishop of Verona from 362 to 380.

¹¹² Infra, I, xli, and Cicero, Topica, xviii, 68-71.

"Pass over to the isles of Cethim, and see; and send into Cedar, and consider diligently; and see if there hath been done anything like this. If a nation hath changed their gods and indeed they are not gods: but my people have changed their glory into an idol."¹¹³

Christ our Saviour drew an example from the queen of the south and the Ninevites and pressed it home.¹¹⁴ "Do not the people do this?" Saint Paul asks most urgently when he says: "It is absolutely heard that there is fornication among you, and such fornication as the like is not among the heathens."¹¹⁵

Saint Basil, in a letter written to his nephews, treats this matter brilliantly, showing how anyone can collect examples of virtue from the actions of the Gentiles. In holy writings, the more slothful are reprimanded by examples drawn from beasts and senseless things. This text from Isaias is strongly moving: "The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib: but Israel hath not known me, and my people hath not understood."¹¹⁶ And no less this one from Jeremias: "The kite in the air hath known her time: the turtle; and the swallow, and the stork have observed the time of their coming; but my people have not known the judgment of the Lord."¹¹⁷ In Proverbs, the lazy

¹¹³ Jeremias: ii, 10-11.

¹¹⁴ Matthew: xii, 41-42.

¹¹⁵ I Corinthians: v, 1.

¹¹⁶ Isaias: i, 3.

¹¹⁷ Jeremias: viii, 7.

man is aroused by the example of the ant.¹¹⁸ Our Saviour, by using the example of birds and lilies, persuades us from too great care and solicitude for food and clothing.¹¹⁹

Chapter XXVI

What the Commonplaces Are

Arguments are either drawn from the essence and nature of things, or they are extracted from those things which seem to be extrinsic.¹²⁰ Although the latter often have great force for proving, we shall speak first of those which are extracted from the thing itself. These are from definition,¹²¹ from the enumeration of parts,¹²² from etymology,¹²³ that is, the meaning and derivation of a word, and, besides these, from those things which touch upon a matter, whatever it may be, and affect it in some fashion. Others of these are called conjugates, and still others are from genus, from form, from similarity, from dissimilarity, from contraries, from adjuncts, from antecedents, from consequences, from incompatibles, from causes, from effects, from comparisons [with things that are] more, or less,

¹¹⁸ Proverbs: vi, 6.

¹¹⁹ Matthew: vi, 28; Luke: xii, 27.

¹²⁰ Cicero, Topica, ii, 8.

¹²¹ Ibid., 9.

¹²² Ibid., 10.

¹²³ Ibid.

or equal.¹²⁴ These are called commonplaces, the regions of arguments,¹²⁵ the elements of propositions. Commonplaces are described thus: They are the marks by whose suggestion anything that has value in persuading can be discovered. It is not difficult to illustrate these commonplaces with a multitude of examples, but this would not be very useful, and it would be completely foreign to the proposed purpose of this book. By the use of a few simple examples, we shall set forth for the clergy what each of these [commonplaces] is.¹²⁶

Chapter XXVII

The Topic from Definition

Definition is that which explains what the thing defined is.¹²⁷

In other words, it is a short statement which sets forth the nature of

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 11. Except for Valiero's substitution of the name dissimilitudo for Cicero's differentia, this list of topics is extracted verbatim from Cicero, Topica, 11.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 7.

¹²⁶ The italics are mine. They have been added because of the importance I attach to the remarks. They seem to point out that Valiero intends to present a text book teaching the theory and technique of preaching, and not an example book similar to so many of the rhotorics of style abounding at the time. See Ray Nadeua, "Oratorical Formulas in Seventeenth-Century England," Quarterly Journal of Speech, XXXVIII (1952), 149-154.

¹²⁷ Cicero, Topica, v, 26.

the thing. We learn from logic that first the proximate genus of the thing is selected. Then to this are added the specific differences which separate the thing from all other forms classed in the same genus.¹²⁸ This method of acute definition does not customarily come into use in speaking. Instead, what a thing is is explained by some description which cannot be fitted to anything else.

The Ecclesiastical Orator should [most] frequently use definitions drawn from experiences within the understanding of men. Sometimes, however, he should use opinions foreign to the crowd and to the popular manner of speech. These things seem to be expressed with great force, and the souls of men can [thereby] be strongly influenced and moved. They are frequently used for refuting, sometimes for proving, and most of all, they are powerful in winning. Saint James draws this definition of the life of man from within the experiences of men: "For what is your life? It is a vapour which appeareth for a little while, and afterwards shall vanish away."¹²⁹ The same [holy Apostle] defines the tongue as "a fire, a world of iniquity."¹³⁰

¹²⁸ Here is to be found a possible reason for Valiero's substitution of the name dissimilitudo in the place of Cicero's differentia as the term for dissimilarity. Differentia has for Valiero a technical meaning in logic: the distinguishing characteristics of different species under the same genus.

¹²⁹ James: iv, 15.

¹³⁰ James: iii, 6.

Blessed Basil, in his oration against avarice, used an argument from definition which carries force. Nor does he cleave to the opinion of the multitude when he proves that he who does not give to the poor what he has in excess of his needs is a defrauder. Then, in another sermon to the rich, in which he laid bare their excuses [for not being charitable], he used an argument from definition to refute them: "But you say you are poor yourselves, and I agree, for a poor man is one who lacks many things. As you lack many things, there results an insatiable desire for having."

Chapter XXVIII

The Topic from Enumeration of Parts

Next to definition comes the enumeration of parts. This is useful not only for proving a point or refuting it, but also for amplifying a topic and embellishing it. A very noble example of this appears in Ecclesiastes: "Vanity of vanities, and all is vanity."¹³¹ Very elegantly also Jeremias the prophet proves that we should glory in God alone. He does this by enumerating the things in which one ordinarily glories. He says: "Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom, and let not the strong man glory in his strength, and let not the rich man glory in his riches: But let him that glorieth glory

¹³¹ Ecclesiastes: i, 2; xii, 8.

in this, that he understandeth and knoweth me, for I am the Lord." ¹³²

Meditating on the subject that death is not to be greatly feared, a matter of the greatest moment, and one that should be frequently treated, the Ecclesiastical Orator can make use of this argument: "The holy martyrs feared neither natural, nor violent, nor glorious nor ignominious deaths. Christ, the Author of all sanctity, sought death in obedience to his Father. So there is no death that is to be feared.

Chapter XXIX

The Topic from Etymology

The Ecclesiastical Orator will be able to draw an argument from etymology, that is, from the meaning and derivation of words. Since some of the names of things come from nature, and some are established by law and common usage, and others are imposed by the dictates of the Holy Spirit, individual things are so influenced by their proper names that their very nature and essence is in some way declared in the names themselves. Wherefore, in the best method, and argument is sometimes taken from the name with which the thing, whatever it is, is endowed. Saint Jerome, writing to the monk Heliodorus, used this argument thus: "Interpret the name of monk. ¹³³

¹³² Jeremias ix, 23-24.

¹³³ monachus, suggesting a derivation from mono-

What are you, who should be alone,¹³⁴ doing in the turmoil of the world?"

From this commonplace, the Ecclesiastical Orator will be able to prove the very true maxim that it is the mark of saintly men to attend the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass every day. The Mass¹³⁵ is said to be something sent because the faithful transmit their prayers, petitions and vows to the Omnipotent through the mystery of the priest who, taking the part of Christ, performs the office of mediator between God and man. It is called missa also because it signifies Christ Who was sent¹³⁶ into the world by the Father, or a messenger¹³⁷ Who is sent so that through His hands He might offer sacrifices on the sublime altar of the Lord. And so the preacher will be able to extract from this topic many arguments for exhorting the people to daily attendance at Mass. He will tell those who do attend this Sacrifice daily that they have been rightly educated, that they fear God [as they should], and that they have made a habit of good judgment. Let him also say that it customarily follows that during the day on which pious men have attended the sacred rites,

¹³⁴ solus. This comes very close to being a pun, the play being based upon mono- and solus.

¹³⁵ Missa, from mitto, mittere, missum.

¹³⁶ missus est.

¹³⁷ The word play is actually better in English than in Latin because "messenger" is closer to missa than the Latin word "angelus."

they [will] bring into the negotiations in which they are involved a greater moderation of soul and greater equity. [It is] as if they were aided by Christ Whose most sacred Passion they have commemorated.

Chapter XXX

The Topic from Conjugates

Next come those things which touch upon the matter [under consideration]. These are words etymologically related, derived from the same root word and variously changed. Their use is frequent. [Here is an example:] If we are Christians, let us live in a Christian manner.¹³⁸ Isaias used the argument thus: "The simpleton says simple things."¹³⁹ And Saint Paul says: "The first man was of the earth, earthly; the second man, from heaven, heavenly. Therefore as we have borne the image of the earthly, let us bear also the image of the heavenly."¹⁴⁰

¹³⁸ The English language does not have the abundant case endings that adorn Latin. A literal translation of the above sentence does not make pleasant English because there is no adverb formed directly from Christian; however, the general nature of the topic can be expressed: "If we are Christians, let us live Christianly."

¹³⁹ This is somewhat better, but it still lacks the preciseness of the Latin: "The simpleton (fatuus) says simple things (fatua)."

¹⁴⁰ I Corinthians: xv, 47 and 49.

Chapter XXXI

Topics from Genus and Species

An argument from genus is to be found in the Apostle John:

"Whosoever committeth sin committeth also iniquity; and sin is iniquity."¹⁴¹ Let us offer an easier example. Virtue is to be

loved, and therefore charity is to be loved.¹⁴² Also: "We must love our neighbors, and therefore we must love our enemies,"

since, as Pope Saint Leo writes in his sermon on fasting, "We are not so much to consider as neighbors those bound to us by friendship and the ties of blood, but absolutely all men who have a nature in common with us."

[By an argument] from species, it can be shown that sins make men miserable, because adultery and homicide [being sins] separate men from God, and this is to be thought the greatest evil.

Chapter XXXII

The Topic from Likeness

The comparison of like things is very frequent, and the

¹⁴¹ I John: iii, 4.

¹⁴² According to Valiero's definition, this is an enthymeme, the minor premise, "Charity is a virtue," being suppressed. No need to explain more fully to clerics solidly grounded in major and minor logic that if the whole genus (virtue) is to be loved, then each of its species (charity) is also to be loved.

arguments are used in this manner: "Just as diseases of the body are more serious when they are not sensible, so are sins which are considered lightly." [And another:] "Just as Hippocrates writes, 'The fuller of decay sick bodies are, the greater is their pain,' so are those made worse who dare to receive the most holy Sacrament of the Eucharist with an unclean conscience." Extremely elegant and brilliant is that simile in which Isaias likens God to a farmer. Just as the farmer tills, sometimes discards, and sometimes gathers the fruits of the fields, so does God now reprove, now protect, now punish, now pity.¹⁴³ To use similes which can be gathered from the book of Proverbs, from the holy Evangelists, and from the sacred writings in general, would be to mark myself as a man abusing his intellect and boasting a not very difficult display. [Consequently, for the sake of brevity, I eschew mention of further examples taken from Scripture.] Saint John Chrysostom, in his oration on praying to God, argues from similarity thus: "Just as the city which lacks walls and fortifications falls easy prey to its enemies' might, so does the Devil experience no difficulty in reducing under his sway the soul not bulwarked with prayer."

¹⁴³ Isaias: v.

Chapter XXXIII

The Topic from Dissimilarity

A great many dissimilarities are to be found in the book of Proverbs. It says: "But the path of the just, as a shining light, goeth forwards and increaseth even to perfect day. The way of the wicked is darksome."¹⁴⁴ [However,] we have said we will be brief, [so we] will show [merely] how the topic from dissimilarity can be put to use: "It is the mark of heretics to fall away from the Church, to formulate new doctrines, to scorn the scholastic doctors; we Catholics, on the other hand, ought to follow the Church as a teacher, we ought not to transgress the inviolable limits of ancient tradition, we should venerate the scholastic teachers." Another example: "Very many wise men of the world have lived in such a way that their lives are discordant with the precepts that they teach to others; it behooves us, who are versed in heavenly and Christian philosophy, to prove by our example and our sanctity of life the things we teach."

Chapter XXXIV

The Topic from the Contrary

Next we come to the topic from contraries. Its use is great

¹⁴⁴ Proverbs: iv, 18-19.

for either affirming or refuting, or for proving and illustrating.

The Ecclesiastical Orator should study it diligently. There are four classes of contraries: [First,] opposites (to use a word of Cicero's),¹⁴⁵ [second,] privatives,¹⁴⁶ [third,] relatives (I use this word [in preference to what Cicero has said] so that the matter may be more easily explained),¹⁴⁷ and [fourth,] contradictories.¹⁴⁸

From Opposites

The Ecclesiastical Orator will be able to adduce this sort of proof from opposites: "We know that pride is the mother of all sins. Therefore, let us love humility, the basis of all virtues." [And another example:] "Peace under the most monstrous tyranny of the Turks is neither safe nor honorable. Therefore, a most just war ought to be fought by all Christian princes against the common enemy."

Saint Basil elegantly used an argument from the contrary thus: "Compare these among yourselves: 'that fasting leads to God' and 'that luxury deprives us of salvation.' Why did Esau swear and make himself the servant of his brother? Was it not for a bit of food

¹⁴⁵ Topica, xi, 47.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 48.

¹⁴⁷ Cicero uses a long circumlocution which really means relative: "There are still other kinds of contraries, such as those which are compared with something, as double and single, many and few, long and short, greater and less." Ibid., 49.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid. Cicero uses the word negantia, "negatives."

that he sold his birthright? [Genesis: xxv, 29-34.] Was not Samuel given to his mother on account of her prayers and fasting? [I Samuel: i, 11-20.]" But let us abstain from examples taken from sacred writings, for we are overwhelmed by their abundance. Since we are striving for clarity, we do not want either to confuse the clergy or to fatigue them with prolixity.

From Privatives

This is the formula for privatives: "Just as the light of the heavenly home is to be loved and expected, so are the infernal shadows to be loathed and avoided."¹⁴⁹ "The merciful," says the Lord, "shall obtain mercy."¹⁵⁰ Therefore, those who lack mercy will obtain no mercy. Wherefore Saint Chrysostom says in a certain sermon that no one can be called miserable unless he is lacking in mercy, and is not accustomed to feeling pity in his soul.

¹⁴⁹ This will be seen to differ from Cicero's teaching. He says, ". . . there are other contraries which we call privatives . . . For if "in" is prefixed, a word loses the force which it would have if the "in" were not prefixed, such as dignity and indignity, humanity and inhumanity and others of this sort. . . ." Ibid., 48.

¹⁵⁰ Matthew: v, 7.

From Relatives

An argument is drawn from relatives thus: "Those who acquaint themselves with the things that pertain to the Christian religion are to be praised. Much more praiseworthy, then, are those who teach them." This argument is to be enlarged upon at this time in the Church of God.¹⁵¹ The preacher is to persuade his hearers to undertake the burden of teaching their children the things which pertain to the holy religion of Christ. Malachias gives a clear example of this topic in these words: "The son honoureth the father, and the servant his master: if then I be a father, where is my honour? and if I be a master, where is my fear?"¹⁵²

From Contradictories

Contradictories,¹⁵³ or, as the Latins call them, *disparata*,¹⁵⁴

¹⁵¹ Writing so soon after the close of the Council of Trent, 1545-1563, Valiero is still very much aware of the decrees concerning improvements and the eradication of abuses in teaching. Moreover, at the time when the heresies of this period were leading many away from the Church, there was even greater need than usual for the careful religious instruction of children.

¹⁵² Malachias: i, 6.

¹⁵³ I have adhered to the use of this word for what I believe to be the same reason Valiero used it in preference to Cicero's "negatives"; namely, that the technical name given to two terms, one of which affirms something about a matter and the other of which denies the same thing about the same matter, is "contradiction." Each of the terms is then called a "contradictory." Otherwise there is danger of confusing this topic with the one called a repugnantibus discussed infra, I, xxxviii.

¹⁵⁴ Cicero, De Inventione, I, xxvii, 42; Quintilian, V, xi, 31.

[that is to say, "negatives, "] are the affirmation and denial of the same thing concerning the same subject. The first of these affirms the fact, and the other denies it, as, for example, to know and not to know.¹⁵⁵ If the former is true, the latter is false. "He who loves Christ keeps His commandments, but he who does not keep them does not love Him."¹⁵⁶ "Those who recognize God as their Father, hear His words, but those who do not acknowledge Him do not hear them."¹⁵⁷ They attend plays and theatres more readily than sermons."

Chapter XXXV

The Topic from Adjuncts

Indeed, the topic from adjuncts embraces almost all the attributes of persons and things. We may describe adjuncts as those collateral circumstances which are connected with a thing, such as time, place, clothing, company, preparation, discourses, speed of gait, redness, pallor, and all the other aspects which represent an event the more [clearly] and make acts either better or worse. The orator will be vigorous in illustrating the matter and in amplifying

¹⁵⁵ Cicero, ibid.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. John: xiv, 23-24.

¹⁵⁷ See, for instance, John: viii, 47.

this topic to a great extent. For example, in reprehending those who walk about in the Church,¹⁵⁸ let him say, "What are you wretched people doing? You are making a den of the house of the Lord. In the presence of the King of kings you wander about thunderstruck as if you didn't know Him; [you crane your necks and] you turn your eyes elsewhere [--everywhere but to the altar]. On the Lord's day, when we should be considering the innumerable gifts we have received, you foolish people think too much of less than nothing. You indulge in enjoyment, gambling, jokes, slanders; you squander the days dedicated to God by dancing [and other foolish pastimes].

Blessed Basil used this topic in his sermon on fasting: "The countenance of fasting is full of gravity. It does not glow with a shameless red, but is adorned with a modest pallor. It is a placid and gentle eye, a sedate step, the countenance that indicates the soul speaking with itself, no insolence of intemperate laughter, [but rather] moderation of tongue and purity of heart." He used this same topic in depicting wrath in its true colors: "Is the decorous man easily aroused? He who lays aside the nature of a man takes up the nature of a beast. He has grown violent with rage, his eyes roll, they are not the same eyes, the flame of passion covers his face."

¹⁵⁸ Churches of the period had no pews as do the ones of today.

Indeed, Saint Jerome used this topic when he described the last day of judgment: "Whether I eat, or drink, or sleep, always there is that voice sounding in my ears: Arise, you dead, come to the judgment."

Chapter XXXVI

The Topic from Antecedents

Antecedents differ from collateral circumstances or adjuncts in the respect that they precede the consequences in such a way that they are necessarily connected with them. Adjuncts are not necessarily connected.¹⁵⁹ The method of argument from antecedents is of this sort: "Christ, Who is our Resurrection, rose from the dead, and we shall do likewise." "Whoever is gifted with that noblest of virtues, which is, of course, charity, is patient, is kind, does not demand the things that are his, but has as his purpose the glory of God."¹⁶⁰

Chapter XXXVII

The Topic from Consequences

This is the form of arguing from consequences: "The man

¹⁵⁹ Cicero, Topica, xii, 53.

¹⁶⁰ See I Corinthians, xiii.

is prudent; therefore, he does not assert things that are doubtful."

"Whoever is wise, is humble." The use of this topic is noteworthy in the Gospel of Saint Matthew. Here the Lord and Master of all proves by consequences that the poor in spirit, that is, the humble, are blessed, because theirs is the kingdom of heaven.¹⁶¹ In the same manner, "Blessed are the meek: for they shall possess the land."¹⁶² And not this alone, but (as Saint Augustine interprets it) they shall inherit the earth of the living. This sermon,¹⁶³ comprising all the ways of attaining beatitude, is the most beautiful of all the sermons that have ever been preached.

Chapter XXXVIII

The Topic from Incompatibles

Incompatibles are those things which differ among themselves according to no fixed law or order. By this role, they can be distinguished from contraries and dissimilarities. This is the form of argument from incompatibles: "The man who loves God hates no one." "If all things are done by fate, the free will of man is destroyed. Praise, punishment, virtue, vice, glory, would be empty names."

¹⁶¹ Matthew: v, 3.

¹⁶² Matthew: v, 4.

¹⁶³ The Sermon on the Mount, Matthew: v-vii.

"A neighbor envies his brother, therefore he has not charity."

Preachers will customarily use this topic when they treat the following thought: "We are Christians by name, but our morals are incompatible with that most noble name we bear. For Jesus Christ, from Whom we have taken the name, is the exemplar of humility, gentleness, obedience, clemency and of all the virtues. We wish to be considered what we are not, better, more learned, even richer than we are. We think it is a disgrace not to avenge wrongs, and that it is pleasant to wield power."

The orator can also use these arguments: "The man who loves the world has not the love of God in him,"¹⁶⁴ "If any man say, I love God, and hateth his brother; he is a liar,"¹⁶⁵

Blessed Ambrose used this topic in his sermon on the beheading of Saint John the Baptist. "Finally, because all the barbarians were accustomed to horror, the edict for completing the cruelty is set forth amidst the feasting and the carousing; and from banquet to prison, and from prison to banquet, indulgence in the deadly shame is proclaimed. What relationship has cruelty to pleasure, or pleasure to funerals? The prophet is seized and dragged away to be punished

¹⁶⁴ See Matthew: vi, 24 and Luke: xvi, 13 for a better statement of the same argument.

¹⁶⁵ I John: iv, 20.

during [Herod's] banquet on a drunken order from which he did not even wish to escape. He is killed with a sword and his head is carried in a dish. This is a dish borrowed from cruelty. By its ferocity, unsatisfied with banqueting, was sated."

Chapter XXXIX

The Topic from Causes

A cause is that from whose power an effect follows. There are four kinds of causes:¹⁶⁶ material, formal, efficient and final. In all things, natural as well as artificial, it is easy, as we have said in another place,¹⁶⁷ to discover these four causes. The material cause is that of which the thing is made. Arguments from material causes are to be found in the holy writings. Especially is this true of the things that move men to moderation. For example, it is said in Genesis that man has been made of the slime of the earth.¹⁶⁸ Because of Adam's sin of pride, God condemned him to revert to the earth from which he was sprung, "For dust thou art, and into dust thou shalt return."¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁶ Here Valerio reverts to Thomistic philosophy, abruptly rejecting Cicero's treatment of causality as outlined in the Topica, xv, 58 xvii, 64.

¹⁶⁷ Supra, I, iii, p. 40.

¹⁶⁸ Genesis, ii, 7.

¹⁶⁹ Genesis: iii, 19.

And Abraham prostrated himself before God, "Seeing I have once begun, I will speak to my Lord, whereas I am dust and ashes."¹⁷⁰ By this argument, God is induced to mercy: "He remembereth," says David, "that we are dust."¹⁷¹ And Job: "Remember, I beseech thee, that thou hast made me as the clay, and thou wilt bring me into dust again."¹⁷² And Isaias: "And now, O Lord, thou art our father, and we are clay: and thou art our maker, and we are all the works of thy hands. Be not very angry, O Lord, and remember no longer our iniquity."¹⁷³

Blessed Basil, in that very beautiful work he wrote, Heed Thyself, exemplifies this topic thus: "Do you exult over your wealth, and boast about your ancestors, and your homeland, and the beauty of your body? Take heed of yourself, for you are mortal, you are earth, and you shall return to the earth."

From Formal Cause

Formal cause is that through which a thing is. An argument from formal cause is made thus: "We are endowed with immortal souls.

¹⁷⁰ Genesis: xviii, 27.

¹⁷¹ Psalm cii, 14.

¹⁷² Job: x, 9.

¹⁷³ Isaias: lxiv, 8-9.

Why, then, do we put all our hopes and thoughts in fleeting and earthly things?" Saint Bernard brilliantly exemplifies this topic thus: "O soul, stamped with the image of God, adorned by that likeness, redeemed by the blood of Christ, betrothed to faith, richly endowed with spirit, classed among the angels, you who have an inheritance of beatitude, what have you to do with things of the flesh?"

The Ecclesiastical Orator will often be able to use this formula for arguing: "Since the form [formal cause] of all virtues is charity, we must strive to mold all our actions by charity."

From Efficient Cause

An efficient cause is that from which something originates. For example, the sun causes the day. The prophet proves that God cares for humanity by an argument taken from efficient cause: "He that planted the ear, shall he not hear? or he that formed the eye, doth he not consider?"¹⁷⁴

According to Isaias, God proves His power, wisdom, and goodness from the creation of the world. Here he promises that He Himself will take care of the Israelites because He has created them: "Hearken unto me, O house of Jacob, all the remnant of the house of

¹⁷⁴ Psalm xciii, 9.

Israel, who are carried by my bowels, are borne up by my womb. Even to your old age I am the same, and to your grey hairs I will carry you: I have made you, and I will bear: I will carry and save."¹⁷⁵ In the book of the same prophet, Isaias shows that a great number will be brought forth by Christ Himself: "Shall not I that make others to bring forth children, myself bring forth, saith the Lord? shall I, that give generation to others, be barren, saith the Lord thy God?"¹⁷⁶ Saint Paul, writing to the Corinthians, demonstrates the power of Baptism because it is from Christ and not from men.¹⁷⁷

From Final Cause

The end is that for the purpose of which all things are made. The orator will be able to argue thus: "Man is fashioned for seeking eternal life. Those men are foolish, therefore, who consider beatitude to consist in pleasures, in riches, in honors." This topic is to be amplified because from these things are sprung all sins and all misfortunes. We do not know to what end the Lord of

¹⁷⁵ Isaias: xlvi, 3-4.

¹⁷⁶ Isaias: lxvi, 9.

¹⁷⁷ I find no such direct statement. Paul seems to suggest this in I Corinthians: i, 13-17; xii, 13; xv, 29.

heaven and earth has sent us forth into the light of day; without doubt [it is] that [by] serving Him we may attend to ourselves and aspire to eternal life. The prophet shows from the end of man by what things we can attain eternal life: "Who shall ascend into the mountain of the Lord: or who shall stand in his holy place? The innocent of hands and clean of heart,"¹⁷⁸

The whole of Ecclesiastes points out above all what the true end [that is to say, what the final end] of man is, and the means whereby anyone can attain it for himself. By setting forth the reward and showing the magnitude of the end, Holy Scripture often exhorts us to the observance of the precepts of God and the bearing of adversities with a tranquil mind. Paul writes to the Romans thus: "For I reckon that the sufferings of this time are not worthy to be compared with the glory to come, that shall be revealed in us."¹⁷⁹

Chapter XL

The Topic from Effects

Effects are those things which are sprung from causes. Just as with causes, there are four kinds of effects. Those which are the effects of individual causes are understood once the causes

¹⁷⁸ Psalm xxiil, 3-4.

¹⁷⁹ Romans: viii, 18.

are understood. This is the method of arguing from effects: "Faith makes us children of God, infidelity makes us children of the Devil. Faith, therefore, is to be loved and confirmed by holy works, but infidelity is to be strongly shunned." "Repentance and disgrace follow from illicit pleasure, but good health and good repute are the companions of temperance. Therefore, spurn voluptuousness and embrace temperance." To this topic are referred all the innumerable arguments and thoughts in which God, from the favors He has bestowed, charges us with the crime of [being] ungrateful souls, or exhorts us to obedience, as in Jeremias: "Am I become a wilderness to Israel, or a lateward springing land (that is, sterile)? why then have my people said: We are revolted, we will come to thee no more?"¹⁸⁰ And in Deuteronomy: "Ask of the days of old, that have been before thy time."¹⁸¹

Christ our Saviour shows by effects that He is the Good Shepherd. "The good shepherd giveth his life for his sheep."¹⁸² Saint Paul reminds us that death and shame are the effects of sin when he says: "What fruit therefore had you then in those things, of which you are now ashamed. For the end of them is death. For

¹⁸⁰ Jeremias: ii, 31.

¹⁸¹ Deuteronomy: iv, 32.

¹⁸² John: x, 11.

the wages of sin is death."¹⁸³

In his first sermon on collections, Pope Saint Leo uses this topic with these words: "We are taught by many attestations in Holy Scripture what merit and what virtue there is in almsgiving, for it is certain that any one of us benefits his soul as often as he in his mercy gives aid to another's need. Therefore, dearly beloved, prompt and willing should be our largess if we believe that one retains for himself what he gives to the needy."

Chapter XLI

The Topic from Comparison

The name comparison is given to this topic because the argument goes either from greater to lesser, or lesser to greater or from [one thing to another which is its] equal.¹⁸⁴ To keep the matter from becoming more obscure,¹⁸⁵ we shall use examples drawn from the Fathers more freely than from Holy Scripture. Saint Jerome, writing to Heliodorus in praise of solitary life, gives us an example of this topic in these words: "The Son of Man

¹⁸³ Romans: vi, 21 and 23.

¹⁸⁴ Cicero, Topica, xviii, 68.

¹⁸⁵ Cicero further divides the topic into quantity, quality, value, and also a particular relation to certain things. Ibid., Valiero omits these in behalf of simplicity and clarity.

had no place to lay His head. You inhabit spacious galleries and the promenades of vast dwellings." The Ecclesiastical Orator will be able to argue from this topic thus: "Our Lord Jesus Christ forgives us our greatest and gravest sins as often as we commit them. Are we not able to bear the slightest affronts of our brethren?"

From Lesser to Greater

The Orator will be able to argue from lesser to greater thus: "On the Lord's days, the laity receive the Sacrament of the Eucharist. Why, therefore, should not priests, deacons and subdeacons do so on those days or even oftener?" Saint Basil used this argument in an oration to the rich thus: "The sea has known its limits, and the night has not passed the ancient definition of its bounds, yet the avaricious man has no heed of time, has established no limit, does not concede the consequences of success. But as a fire, he imitates violence, seizes all things, destroys all things."

From What Is Equal

The comparisons of equals consists in showing that one thing is on a par with another. For example: "Shepherds look to the safety of their flock, kings to that of their people, and doctors are concerned with bodies inflicted with illness. So, then, ought the shepherds of souls to benefit those over whom they have charge.

Saint Augustine uses this topic most elegantly in one of his sermons with these words: "We, and all people, are the servants of one Lord, and if we all act well, we will attain equally to one beatitude. Why may not a poor man break bread with you when he will take possession of the kingdom of heaven with you? Why can you not give him even an old tunic, when he will receive the cloak of immortality with you? Why has he not deserved your bread when he has been invited to the banquet of angels with you?"

Chapter XLII

On Extrinsic Proofs, Especially Proof from Sacred Scripture

Now that we have treated intrinsic arguments as thoroughly as the matter itself seemed to demand, let us go on to examine those arguments that are called extrinsic. Indeed, these often have great power for proving. They can be reduced to eight headings:¹⁸⁶ [1] Holy Scripture, [2] the traditions of the holy Apostles and of apostolic men, [3] the authority of the Church and [4] the holy Apostolic See, [5] the authority of the councils and [6] of the holy Fathers, [7] the opinions of the philosophers, and [8] histories. Many distinguished theologians have explained these sources of argument at great

¹⁸⁶ Here follows another sharp deviation from Cicero, but it is a departure in content not form, for both Cicero and Valerio postulate authority as the requisite of extrinsic proof. See Topica, xix, 73.

length, most elegantly (in my judgment) Melchior Canus, Bishop of Canaria.¹⁸⁷ We shall treat them at no greater length than necessary to offer a sufficiency of subject matter. Therefore, whenever the Ecclesiastical Orator wants to prove anything, let him picture this fact especially to his hearers, that the authority of the sacred writings is great. Since, indeed, anything that is contained in Holy Scripture is true, it is to be regarded as having come from the mouth of God. If anything [in sacred literature] seems absurd to anyone, it is because he does not understand it. The preacher will also show that the fruitfulness of the holy writings is great, and that whatever things are suitable for knowing and useful to the life of men are contained therein. The Ecclesiastical Orator will use the testimony of Holy Writ with the force of prophecy, sometimes

¹⁸⁷ See Henry Hallam, Introduction to the Literature of Europe in the Fifteenth, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1880), I. In speaking of the theological literature of Europe from 1550 to 1600, Hallam says, "The scholastic method, affecting a complete and scientific form, led to the compilation of theological systems, generally called *Loci Communes*." (p. 97). He goes on to say that though the protestant communions grew unfavorable to systematic theology, the scholastic theology retained undisputed respect in the Catholic Church. (pp. 97-98). Of particular interest to us here is the following statement: "The most remarkable book of this kind, which falls within the sixteenth century, is the *Loci Theologici* of Melchior Canus, published at Salamanca in 1563, three years after the death of the author, a Dominican, and professor in that university. It is, of course, the theology of the reign and country of Philip II.; but Canus was a man acquainted with history, philosophy, and ancient literature." (p. 98)

[for example,] moving the people to the frequenting of the Sacraments. On such an occasion, he will use arguments taken from definition, from etymology, from final cause, and from efficient cause to exhort them to receive that salutary food. Let him introduce into his sermon these words of David: "I am smitten as grass, and my heart is withered: because I forgot to eat my bread."¹⁸⁰ He will remember also these words taken from the book of Wisdom: "Come, eat my bread, and drink the wine which I have mingled for you."¹⁸⁹ [Let him recall] also this beautiful passage in Isaias, whom Saint Jerome calls the fifth Evangelist: "And the bread of the corn of the land shall be most plentiful, and fat."¹⁹⁰ Then, after a short preface, he will recall the words of the Teacher of teachers, Who spake thus of Himself: "I am the bread of life,"¹⁹¹ and a little later, "I am the living bread . . . and the bread that I will give, is my flesh, for the life of the world."¹⁹² He will conclude with the reproach that the arrogant man is he who denies a need for that bread, and that he who wishes to remain dead when life is offered to him is foolish and demented.

¹⁸⁸ Psalm ci, 5.

¹⁸⁹ Not Wisdom; Proverbs: ix, 5.

¹⁹⁰ Isaias: xxx, 23.

¹⁹¹ John: vi, 42.

¹⁹² John: vi, 51-52.

In his sermons to the people on Purgatory, which he will preach often to incite them to compassion for the dead, he will relate and reflect upon these words of Isaias: "It shall be called the holy way: the unclean shall not pass over it."¹⁹³ He will adapt [to his purposes] what the same prophet said in another place: "If the Lord shall wash away the filth of the daughters of Sion, and shall wash away the blood of Jerusalem out of the midst thereof, by the spirit of judgment, and by the spirit of burning."¹⁹⁴ To those words of Isaias, let him add those of Saint John in the Apocalypse written in the same sentiment: "There shall not enter into it anything defiled,"¹⁹⁵ for that city is holy. To these witnesses or prophecies taken from many of the holy writings, the Ecclesiastical Orator can add the authority of our Saviour, Who said: "And whosoever shall speak a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him: but he that shall speak against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, nor in the world to come."¹⁹⁶

The preacher will affirm the existence of Purgatory, the fact

¹⁹³ Isaias: xxxv, 8.

¹⁹⁴ Isaias: iv, 4.

¹⁹⁵ Apocolypse: xxi, 27.

¹⁹⁶ Matthew: xli, 32.

that souls in that place cannot merit either good or ill, that they are assured of salvation, and that they should be aided by prayers, fasts, almsgivings, offerings of Masses. If children perform these offices for parents who have died, the same mercy will be rendered them by their children when they leave this world.

Since the office of interpreter of Holy Scripture is related to that of the Ecclesiastical Orator [in that one of the duties of the preacher is to interpret the sacred text], he will occasionally assume this duty in the first part of his sermon. We shall treat of the art or science of interpreting Holy Scripture in Book III when we consider dispositio. It is less out of place there because it is the usual custom for the Gospels to be taken as themes by which the people are taught to observe the precepts of God and to arrange their lives accordingly.

The preacher should often use the testimony of David, divine prophet and man after the heart of God. This is especially powerful, not only for proving a point but for ornamenting the sermon, because his Psalms abound in the most beautiful metaphors and similes.

Chapter XLIII

Proof from the Authority of Apostolic Tradition

The traditions of Christ and the Apostles prevail according to

the topic of inartistic proofs,¹⁹⁷ as, for example, the holy rites and ceremonies that are used in the holy Sacraments, as well as many honored customs and sentiments which have been confirmed by the consent of Holy Mother Church and by long usage. These traditions are not written down, but have come down to us by word of mouth from Apostolic times to our own day. They can rightly be called the oracles of the living voice. Let the preacher recall these words of Saint John the Apostle: "But there are also many other things which Jesus did; which, if they were written every one, the world itself, I think would not be able to contain the books that should be written."¹⁹⁸ Also these words of the Apostle Paul: "Therefore, brethren, stand fast; and hold the traditions which you have learned, whether by word, or by our epistle."¹⁹⁹

The preacher will be able to show that many things pertaining to the Christian religion are not to be found in the canonical writings. As examples of this, there is the perpetual virginity of the Mother

¹⁹⁷ The language is Aristotelian, but the concept is still Ciceronian, because Valiero is here discussing extrinsic proofs. These, of course, are not the same as Aristotle's inartistic proofs. The artistic-inartistic dichotomy in Aristotle refers to the proofs that come from within or without the speaker, while Cicero and Valiero speak of intrinsic and extrinsic proofs with reference to their source within or without the subject-matter.

¹⁹⁸ John: xxi, 25.

¹⁹⁹ Thessalonians: ii, 14.

of God, infant baptism and many others. The Church sets these matters forth as so worthy of belief that anyone who thinks differently of them is guilty of heresy. Therefore, the preacher must teach that Christ our Legislator and Master not only taught but also commanded for the whole world that the ecclesiastical traditions should be preserved when He said to His disciples: "As the Father hath sent me, I also send you."²⁰⁰ He that heareth you, heareth me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth me."²⁰¹

It is easy to show that for three reasons principally many things have been handed down without being written: first, lest our sacred mysteries be derided among the pagans; or even that they should come generally into the scorn of the faithful. Then, the living voice (I do not know what power it has) sounds more loudly in the ear of the disciple in the matter of authority transmitted thus. Saint Jerome says to Paulinus: "It is not fitting that the entire doctrine of the Gospel, which is a law of spirit and of life, be committed to lifeless writing, and that no part of it be committed to hearts." Third, the true children of God are distinguished from the false, and from the slaves, for it is the mark of slaves and of the rude, ignorant man to act only from prescription. On this

²⁰⁰ John: xx, 21.

²⁰¹ Luke: x, 16.

account, Jeremias the Prophet says: "I will give my law in their bowels, and I will write it in their heart."²⁰² And Saint Paul says to the Corinthians, "You are the epistle of Christ, ministered by us, and written not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God; not in tables of stone, but in the fleshly tables of the heart."²⁰³ Therefore, our Lord wrote nothing of those things which He did and taught. Neither did He command that anything we read be written. On the contrary, when He sent the Apostles to preach the Gospel, He did not say to them, "Write," but, "Preach the Gospel to every creature."²⁰⁴ Because of these words, the Apostles preached the Gospel for a long time by word of mouth only. It was only later that it was set down in writing. Exactly how much faith should be given to the traditions can be seen not only from what has been said up to this point, but also from the words of Cyprian, who wrote on this matter in the following manner: "As Christ and the Holy Spirit have equal authority, so authority and force are equal in their instructions. The traditions, then, which the Apostles have handed down to us under the guidance of the Holy Ghost have the same power and authority as those which the Holy Ghost Himself gave us [in the writings which He inspired]."

²⁰² Jeremias: xxxi, 33.

²⁰³ II Corinthians: iii, 3.

²⁰⁴ Luke: xvi, 15.

Chapter XLV

Proof from the Authority of the Church

The Ecclesiastical Orator will speak often and at length on the authority of the Church. Sometimes [he will make it his purpose] to show that her authority is equal to that which is necessary for her bishops and her priests [in ministering to her people]. Sometimes [he will be interested even] more in consoling sinners [with the thought that] they are in a safe ship. However badly it may be buffeted, they have not yet perished.

So let the preacher teach that the Church is the faithful scattered throughout the whole world; that it stands firm. Let him remind them that the kingdom of heaven, that is, the Church Militant,²⁰⁵ is like a net cast into the sea,²⁰⁶ a field in which thistles have been sowed,²⁰⁷ or a barn where the grain is stored with the chaff,²⁰⁸ like the ten virgins, some foolish, some wise.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁵ The Church Militant is made up of the people on earth engaging in a constant warfare against their great adversary, Satan. The Church Triumphant are those who have won their battle and are in heaven, and the Church suffering are the souls in Purgatory.

²⁰⁶ A recurrent figure. See Matthew: xiii, 47.

²⁰⁷ This figure is also found in Matthew, chapter xiii, along with many others, all of which Valiero could have used equally well to exemplify the Church Militant.

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

²⁰⁹ Matthew: xxv, 1-13.

The kingdom of heaven is clearly manifested in [the figure of] Noah's ark where both clean and unclean animals were gathered up.²¹⁰

Christ has chosen the Church for His friend, His sister, and His only spouse. He has shown by many outstanding promises and favors that he has constituted her His home and has willed that she be the support and foundation of truth so that we may have no doubt of His teachings, because in as much as she is teacher, custodian and interpreter of the truth, she has an inviolable faith and authority. Our Saviour compared her to a city built on a mountain, which can be seen and recognized by all.²¹¹ And He has promised that He will be with her all days, even to the consummation of the world.²¹² We are tacitly warned that she is to be obeyed in all things, that whatever dogma she holds in faith is most true, nor is anything that she believes and teaches to be considered false. Since, as the Apostle tells the Ephesians, the Church is the body of Christ,²¹³ surely she is moved and ruled by His head, and therefore it is fitting for us to confess that she can at no time err. These words have been spoken by our Saviour to the ministers of the Church:

²¹⁰ Genesis: vii, 14-16.

²¹¹ Matthew: v, 14.

²¹² Matthew: xxviii, 20.

²¹³ Ephesians: i, 22, 23.

"And I will ask the Father, and he shall give you another Paraclete, that he may abide with you forever. The spirit of truth, whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth him not, nor knoweth him: but you shall know him; because he shall abide with you, and shall be in you."²¹⁴ Lest anyone should think these words were spoken only to the Apostles, He added, "And not for them only do I pray, but for them also who through their word shall believe in me."²¹⁵ Wherefore no one will rightly doubt that as much faith should be given to the decrees and laws of the Church as if they were from the mouth of the Saviour Himself.

Indeed, when the Ecclesiastical Orator preaches a sermon on indulgences, he will show that they are treasures which Christ has given to His spouse the Church. The merits of Christ, one drop of Whose blood would be enough to redeem all Christians, and the merits of the holy martyrs, and the prayers of the Church are hoarded up in the treasury of indulgences. These merits are especially powerful in alleviating the punishments to which we are liable [as a result of our sins]. The fault, which God, our most indulgent Father, remits for sinners, is wiped out. The dispenser of this treasure is the Vicar of Christ. The customary indulgences

²¹⁴ John: xiv, 16-17.

²¹⁵ John: xvii, 20.

are granted by the Vicar of Christ for the glory of God and the salvation of the people, and for the moving of men to the performing of any excellent work. No one who is guilty of mortal sin, or who has failed to observe the things which the most holy Pontiff has commanded [for gaining the indulgence] can participate in this great benefit.

The Jubilee Plenary Indulgence is granted as an aid to human weakness, for conserving reverence toward the Holy Apostolic See, for confirming the Catholic faith, and for enkindling the hope of divine mercy in the souls of men.

Chapter XLV

Proof from the Authority of the Apostolic See

The authority of the Apostolic See, that is, of the Roman Pontiff, is an argument judged firm enough for building faith. The Pope is the Vicar of Christ and the legitimate successor of Peter. He has the same firmness and stability of faith [which our Lord gave to the first Pope] as well as the authority and power granted to Peter by our Saviour, since the words, "But I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not: and thou, being once converted, confirm thy brethren,"²¹⁶ pertain to Peter's successors as well. So it is that he cannot err in any way in respect to the things which pertain to

²¹⁶ Luke: xxii, 32.

the most holy religion of Christ, in Whose stead he acts on earth. This is particularly true since, as Saint Gregory writes, the Roman Pontiffs customarily pronounce judgment on nothing without the counsel of the most eminent authorities.

Whenever the occasion presents itself, the preacher should grasp it to speak to the people of the power of the Supreme Pontiff, the Vicar of Christ, thus: "Just as there is no discipline without rule, no kingdom without a king, and no home without a master, so without the Supreme Pastor, the Vicar of Christ, the Church could not be ruled. [As proof of this look at the fact that] errors have arisen because members have separated from the head."

Chapter XLVI

Proof from the Authority of Councils

Also great is the authority of the holy Fathers of the Church who have been convened by the Holy Spirit in the sacred Councils. Their authority is such that they can make no error in those things which pertain to strengthening the Christian faith and to obtaining the salvation of souls. For since the bishops are, so to speak, the columns of the Church, and the heads from which all the other faithful depend, if they were to be led into error, it follows necessarily that the whole Christian edifice would crumble. Such a circumstance certainly could not happen. Heresies, condemned

many centuries ago, would be revised by the authority of the Councils. The Nicene Creed would be meaningless. Finally, there would be no certain path whereby, in controversies of faith, Catholic dogma would be sought out. Saint Augustine says that the opinion of a universal Council is the consensus of the whole Church. There seem to the Apostle Paul no more fitting or easy way to investigate the truth of questions that had sprung up [among the early Christians] than to refer the controversy to the Council of Jerusalem.²¹⁷

Therefore, there is no room left for doubting the necessity for giving credence to the Councils if we wish the authority of the Church to be protected. Wherefore Pope Saint Gregory has most eminently said that as much faith is to be given to the four General Councils as to the [four] Gospels, indeed, because the same Holy Spirit is the teacher of both, and the same Christ is the author [of both].

Whenever the Ecclesiastical Orator preaches a sermon on justification, he should explain the opinion of the Council of Trent. He should introduce into his sermon that decree [of the Council] which declares that man becomes just with an inherent justice through faith in Jesus Christ, not an historical faith, or a dead faith, but an active faith, one which operates through love.

²¹⁷ Acts: xv, 6.

Whenever a sermon is to be preached in the synods, it should be shown that a pastor cannot without mortal sin absent himself from the guardianship of the sheep who have been committed to his care.²¹⁸

Chapter XLVII

Proof from the Authority of the Holy Fathers

In explaining the holy writings, when the necessity arises for corroborating any point, a very strong argument will manifest itself to the Ecclesiastical Orator in the form of the consensus and authority of the holy Fathers [of the Church]. For indeed, they were taught by the Holy Spirit, by Whose power they so penetrated to the true understanding of Holy Scripture that in those things which pertain to faith they not only did not in any manner err but even showed admirable unanimity in all things. When all who have

²¹⁸ Pius V was insistent that bishops reside in person among their flocks and insisted upon the same residence by priests in charge of souls. By a series of ordinances, the Supreme Pontiff made Rome, the favorite place of refuge, extremely uncomfortable for the prelates and priests who were bound to residence. General ordinances were followed by particular decrees to individual bishops. "Thus immediately after he had ascended to the throne, Pius V. charged the Bishop of Verona, in a special brief, to carry out, by force if necessary, the decree of the Council [of Trent] as to residence, it having come to his ears that this matter was somewhat neglected in Verona." Ludwig Pastor, The History of the Popes (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1929), XVII, pp. 216-217. Valiero was the Bishop of Verona mentioned here; thus, he would be very well aware of the ruling.

followed them as writers and preachers instruct the people in the meaning of Holy Scripture from the doctrines taught by the Fathers, the people will accept this same meaning faithfully. Indeed, if they were in error, either the Church, the expeller of all errors, would not have conceded them such honor for so many years, or would have herself been shipwrecked in the same storm of error. This [latter alternative] is so far from the truth that whoever dares to say it stains himself with the blot of heresy.

Our Lord promised these [wise teachers] to the Church through Jeremias the Prophet when He said: "And I will give you pastors according to my own heart, and they shall feed you with knowledge and doctrine."²¹⁹ We clearly understand that these Fathers have been given to us after the prophets, the Apostles, and the Evangelists. Therefore, we follow their Catholic, that is to say, their universal and common, perception and authority just as if it were the rule of the Church prescribed by God.

In this connection, we offer a warning to clerics never to dare say anything to the people contrary to the opinions of the holy Fathers, nor if the Fathers make any human error, to point it out as do those who in speaking of predestination undertake to disprove the opinion of Saint Augustine. Those who vituperate every lie

²¹⁹ Jeremias: iii, 15.

accuse Saint Jerome. By speech, by praises, sometimes even by silence, these most holy men, luminaries of the Church, are to be venerated. Rather are their errors to be ignored and even concealed in sermons to the people.²²⁰

Great also is the authority of the scholastic doctors, especially Blessed Thomas Aquinas, whom the Councils, particularly the Tridentine, have judged to be worthy of great veneration.²²¹ Their authority has great power in proving the doctrines of the true religion and refuting [those that are] false and pernicious.

Chapter XLVII

Proof from the Authority of the Philosophers

The authority of the philosophers is by no means negligible. This is certainly true not only of those who have investigated the essence and effects of nature but indeed the norm of morality and of life, and have for the most part followed it. Our Lord said in the Gospel of Saint John: "All others, as many as have come, are thieves and robbers."²²² However, He refers to those who venerate false prophets and false philosophers not by command but

²²⁰ Cf. Augustine, De Doctrina Christiana, III, xxiii, 33.

²²¹ Saint Thomas is the "official" philosopher of the Church.

²²² John: x, 8.

of their own free will. Concerning these our Lord says through Jeremias the prophet: "I did not send prophets, yet they ran: I have not spoken to them, yet they prophesied."²²³ Yet, truly, as Clement of Alexandria thought, the philosophers are to be called thieves because they have purloined their wisdom from Moses and the prophets, and for the sake of seizing vain glory, have habitually proposed it as their own. Indeed, Saint Ambrose affirms that Plato, Pythagoras, and many other philosophers used the companionship of the Jews freely, and, as a matter of fact, that Pythagoras was himself Hebrew by birth, and even that he was circumcised. So it should not seem strange to anyone if the holy doctors sometimes used testimonies from the writings of the philosophers. Anyone who reads Saint Jerome's second book against Jovinianus²²⁴ will see that in disagreeing with the heretic he uses various opinions of philosophers and many examples from their commentaries on natural phenomena. Moreover, when Epiphanius had proved by many arguments that the Blessed Virgin retained her virginity after giving birth, he used this argument taken from the natural philosophers: "They say that the lion gives birth only once and to a single lion." And when he had proposed the reason which

²²³ Jeremias: xxiii, 21.

²²⁴ A heretic condemned by a synod of Milan in 389.

philosophers assign to his matter, he concluded that the Blessed Virgin, who gave birth to the Lion of the tribe of Judah gave birth only once and to a single child. Also Saint Paul the Apostle, writing to the Corinthians, took this phrase from the tragedies of Menander: "Evil communications corrupt good manners."²²⁵ And in his epistle to Titus, he borrowed from Epimenides: "The Cretians are always liars, evil beasts, slothful bellies."²²⁶ And so, for proving a point, after the Ecclesiastical Orator has used the opinions and examples of the holy Fathers, we judge it to be sometimes useful for him to add the authorities of the philosophers, for the reason that he may the more bring us Christian lovers of the true philosophy to shame. This is especially to be done when he speaks of forgiving injuries, of contempt for external things, and against a too great fear of death. Plato and Aristotle write that it is better to suffer injury than to inflict it. We Christians, sad to say, consider revenge so sweet, so pleasant. The philosopher fleeing from the destruction of his fatherland said, "I carry everything I own with me." We Christians, born for the heavenly fatherland, brothers of Christ, the King of all kings, are in need in the midst of great abundance. Seneca taught that the scorn of other men

²²⁵ I Corinthians: xv, 33.

²²⁶ Titus: i, 12.

ought to be ignored. We think it is most wretched that we are scorned.

Chapter XLIX

Proof from the Authority of History

Sometimes the histories of the most eminent men, especially the ancients who are free from the suspicion of ill will and favoritism, are very powerful in creating belief. For since history is called the witness of the times, the light of truth, the memory and teacher of life, the messenger of antiquity, faith must necessarily be put in it unless the memory of all past events is to be destroyed and life to be lived in accordance with the customs of cattle. For it is not the mark of the well-educated man or of him who is well prepared for a human life not to give faith to a serious man, one worthy of belief, when he attests to the truth of a matter. Certainly when all honest and weighty historians agree on a fact, a sure argument can be drawn from their authority so that the doctrines of the faith can be affirmed by right reason.

For example, all serious histories tell us that Peter, the most blessed prince of the Apostles, established the See of Rome, and that he was crowned with the glory of martyrdom for Christ. Hence, it can be concluded by definite argumentation that the Bishop of Rome is the successor of Peter in the Pontificate.²²⁷ Likewise,

²²⁷ Valiero here is pointing out that historians agree as to the first Pope, that the papal line of descent is from Peter rather than anyone else. He is not basing the legitimacy of the Papal descent on this argument.

the most eminent historians have handed down to memory the fact that the Council of Nicea was convened by the Supreme Pontiff Sylvester in the time of Constantine [325 A.D.]. From this fact we deduce that the definitions of the Council of Nicea are true, because it is certain that a General Council of the Church, approved by the Roman Pontiff, could not have erred. It is unbelievable how useful the knowledge of ecclesiastical history is to the Ecclesiastical Orator, especially in refuting heretics and in educating the souls of the ignorant to piety and all the virtues. We exhort the clergy, however, to set a limit for themselves in mentioning these historical facts lest they fall into any petty display of memory. Whenever the Sacred Scriptures speak, or Christ teaches something, or whenever anything can be affirmed by Apostolic tradition, or the authority of the Councils, it seems superfluous and ambitious to drag out long histories.

To this point, we have set forth the methods by which the Ecclesiastical Orator can, through his speaking on the things which pertain to the glory of God and the salvation of souls, teach his hearers how to win the kingdom of God. This subject is one that needs to be proposed both to himself and to all the faithful of Christ. The following book, as we shall proceed to explain, contains the methods by which the preacher can move the souls of his hearers.

END OF BOOK ONE

ON ECCLESIASTICAL RHETORIC FOR THE CLERGY

BOOK TWO

Chapter I

The Function of Ecclesiastical Rhetoric is to Move

As Saint Augustine observes in his book on Christian Doctrine, what the great lay orator and teacher of speech wrote, can be applied almost without changing the words to the ecclesiastical orator: "To teach is a necessity, to delight is a beauty, to persuade is victory."¹ He who is employed in the legation of Christ ought to prove that the religion of Christ is most true, that it embraces all the things which are to be hoped, feared, avoided and done. This [eloquence] is particularly effective in overwhelming hearers so that the souls of the listeners may be moved by the speech and the manners of the preacher. For although the speaker treats the salvation of those who hear him, and there would therefore seem to be no necessity for moving them,² nevertheless, the internal enemies

¹ Augustine does not quote Cicero exactly. De Doctrina Christiana, IV, xii, 27. See also Cicero, Orator, xxi, 69.

² Theoretically, there should be no necessity for persuasion, since the subject matter of the speaker, and his thesis, involve the salvation of the souls of his hearers. The function of teaching, therefore, should be sufficient. For various reasons, however, the listeners must be both delighted and moved before they will accept the teaching, even though the matter involved is of so great concern to them.

by whom we are insiduously attacked as long as we are detained in this prison of the body are very grave and very fierce. Therefore, souls must be moved and enkindled to this necessary struggle lest they be capsized in the many floods of human opinions and desires.

Chapter II

The first rule which must be followed by anyone who would move the souls of his hearers is that he, the speaker, must be moved.³ Herein lies victory for the orator. If he wishes others to weep, he must himself weep first, for it is evident that he must take pains to verify with his deeds what he says with his words. [He will be able to move others thus only] if he has assumed the office of speaking for no other reason than zeal for God and the salvation of souls, and if he has been enkindled with that most excellent virtue of charity, by whose fire alone, as Pope Saint Gregory bears witness, his preaching is inflamed. When he preaches in this vein, he cannot fail to strike some spark in the hearts of his hearers. It will be useful, moreover, to consider diligently the matter which he will discuss, and to read those passages in the Holy Scriptures (especially in the prophets, who were the ambassadors of Christ, and in the "heavenly" orators, as I call them) in which the same topic, or one similar, is explained. For example, if he desires to arouse in his hearers the fear of divine vengeance (and this is often necessary),

³ Quintilian, VI, ii, 26.

let him read Isaias the prophet, who treats the matter in these words:

" . . . for they have cast away the law of the Lord of hosts . . .

Therefore is the wrath of the Lord kindled against his people, and

he hath . . . struck them" ⁴ And in another place, "I shall

take my revenge, and no man shall withstand me, for, wrathful over

my people, I shall shower upon them my indignation and the fury of

my wrath." ⁵ And much more forcefully he incites terror when he

says: "Wee to the Assyrian, he is the rod and the staff of my anger,

and my indignation is in their hands. I will send him to a deceitful

nation, and I will give him a charge against the people of my wrath

to take away the spoils, and to lay hold on the prey, and to tread

them down like the mire of the streets." ⁶ These words are especially

applicable in these calamitous times. Indeed, since a great part of

the earth, oppressed by the tyranny of Satan, has been subjected to

his minister, the inhuman tyrant of the Turks, the orator can arouse

in his people the fear of divine justice by mention of the cities,

provinces, republics and illustrious kingdoms that have fallen into

his hand. Indeed, if the preacher wishes to deter his people from

sin by visualizing human misfortune for them, let him read diligently

the Lamentations of the prophet Jeremias. As Saint Gregory

⁴ Isaias: v, 24, 25.

⁵ The burden of much of Isaias. I do not find the precise reference.

⁶ Isaias: x, 5-6.

Naxiansen wrote in a certain oration, he himself used to read them when things were going well, using this as a means of moderating himself. Now truly, since minds can be drawn to God by no more illustrious teacher than the Holy Spirit, He is to be invoked and invited through prayers and holy sacrifices to speak, advise and teach through the Christian orator. So we exhort the clergy to use neither this part of persuasion nor any other, indeed let them not even dare arise to speak without having invoked the Holy Spirit,⁸ without a pure and contrite heart, keeping this always in mind: the Holy Spirit shuns deception, and He will not inhabit a soul stained with sins.

Chapter III

What Persuasion Is, and that the Stoics, Who Called All Emotions
Faults, and Considered Them Worthy Only of Eradication,
Seriously Erred. How the Good Emotions May Be Dis-
tinguished from the Bad

Since persuasion is a certain incitement of the mind, without which a speech would be unpleasant and feeble, the Ecclesiastical Orator will see to it that just as the blood is diffused throughout the entire body, so there will be present in all the parts of his speech those things which have the power to persuade. He will never

⁸ Augustine, IV, xv, 32.

give his approbation to the Stoic philosophers, who, in the attempt to eradicate the gentler feelings of mankind, called all the passions evil.⁹ Rather let him understand that God gave them to us for our benefit. Our most benign Father gave them to us for the glory of His name, for the salvation of souls, and for the utility of the Christian people. Let him also recognize the very true fact that the emotions are the middle ground between the virtues and the vices. However, they can also be distinguished by another method. If they are elevated, if they direct the way to heaven, they become virtues; if they are debased, they become vices. For example, if the concupiscible power in the soul of man is directed toward heaven, then praiseworthy and truly Christian emotions spring forth: love of God and of neighbor, joy, loathing for this world, and fear of the perils which threaten us in this life. There also springs from these passions a just sorrow that we ourselves have impeded our way to the heavenly patrimony; [there is also] hope, and a certain holy confidence which we may call resignation in God. If, on the contrary, that [concupiscible] power leads downward, then from it all sins are born. Thence the desire for empty glory, thence avarice, thence shameful voluptuousness is born. By the same token, if the irascible power, handed down

⁹ So different from Aristotle, of course. See *Rhetoric*, pp. 8, 9. Valiero was certainly familiar with the Stoics and their philosophy, yet he might have made this statement on the basis of what Quintilian says, VI, i, 7.

to man from heaven, is elevated, then a most excellent emotion called zeal is aroused and nourished. When it is used for the correction of our inferiors, then it is the nourisher of discipline and the teacher of correction. From this passion, just as water rushes from a fountain, spring the Christian virtues of fortitude, martyrdom, constancy, magnanimity, Christian equity and certain others which the [secular] philosophers have failed to recognize.

Chapter IV

That the Source of all Good Emotions is the Love of God, and of the Evil Ones Is an Inordinate Love of the World. How Hearers Can Be Aroused to a Love of God and to a Desire for the Heavenly Home.

The Ecclesiastical Orator will move his hearers especially to love, for this affection, when it is proper, is the source of all good emotions. However, when it is perverted, it is the source of all the evil ones. It is the way which leads to Christ. The preacher must not recommend any highway [to Christ] as having been proved safer for us [than that of love]. And that he may persuade souls the more, let him say that one is nobler to the extent that he loves nobler and more estimable things. God is the most lovable because He is the most clement, the most beautiful, indeed, because He is the source of goodness, of clemency, of beauty and of all goods. He is to be loved because He is our most clement Lord, because He

disassembles our sins in anticipation of our doing penance, because He protects us, because He bestows all goods upon us, because by the blood of His Son He has prepared for us an eternal hereditv.

In moving the people to this love of God in which is situated the whole power of the Christian religion (a task which falls frequently on the Ecclesiastical Orator), let the preacher expound at some length the truth of the ancient proverb: "Neither sovereignty nor love admits sharers." It is not possible for the same man to love both God and the world.¹⁰ Therefore, to incite in men a desire for their heavenly home, something which is greatly to be desired by pious minds, let the orator propose these truths: In him who loves the world, there is no love for God. Moreover, it is more than difficult, indeed it is impossible, to enjoy both present and future goods, to appear glorious in one world as well as the other, to pass from delights [unrestrained on earth] to delights [unrestrained in heaven]. He may further say that we who use this world should do it as if we did not enjoy it. Truly, the world is a hypocrite, since all things are full of snares and sorrows. Because it can appear good to the untutored, it is ruinous to those who love it immoderately. From [illicit] pleasures of the past we have nothing but remorse, from future pleasures, nothing, from present pleasures

¹⁰ Matthew, vi: 24; Luke, xvi: 13.

only the moment of the present, and we know how fleeting that moment is. Using these words of Pope Saint Gregory, the clergy have often been able to direct themselves to the people: "Behold, the world which we love passes, and because we cannot retain it, we must fall with it." Another thought may well be added to Gregory's words: "The days of the world pass as shadows. The faster one chases his shadow, the faster it flies."

For impressing this matter on the souls of his hearers, the orator should recall the pronouncements of the prophets. These words of Isaias should be read to them: "Cry," says the Lord to Isaias. "And I said: What shall I cry? All flesh is grass, and all the glory thereof as the flower of the field."¹¹ Acting in his office of interpreter, the Ecclesiastical Orator can move the people greatly through his explanation of these words. "Why does he say 'Cry out'?" [the preacher will say], "Because the Lord sent out to heedless men many voices through His servants [the prophets]. Truly all the people are grass. Indeed, we are all grass. We are also like the flowers which are produced from the seed, beautiful and pleasing, and after a little wither and return to nothing."¹² Let the preacher also show that this life is like a vapor, like a mist that soon dissolves in the rays of the sun.¹³

¹¹ Isaias, xl: 6.

¹² See James: i, 10, 11.

¹³ See James: iv, 15.

These words of Saint Augustine should often be impressed upon the people: "O miserable life," he says, "how often have you deceived? How often have you seduced? While you are seen you are a shadow; while you are exalted you are smoke. You are sweet to the foolish, bitter to the wise." These words are especially powerful in removing impediments to the love of God, and in arousing a desire for the heavenly home.

It must often be impressed upon our hearers also that the religion which we profess is the rule of love. If we love the things which are truly worthy of love, and if the Holy Spirit is the moderator of our love, then all these virtues are born: a desire for eternal life, holy joy, salutary penitence, pious fear of God, fervent zeal, and consolation in times of adversity. Whenever this holy love of God is lacking, then are born cupidity, voluptuousness, despair, presumption, hatred, envy and the like.

Chapter V

How Certain Good Men are to be Moved to Loving Themselves and Their Neighbors

Sometimes it is necessary to move certain good men, who are exemplary in other things, to love themselves. That is, they must be persuaded to love this life, especially since they themselves, or other good men, have judged it to be useful to the people

[for them to do so]. This is truly in order that they may be of benefit to others, and that by using the holy Sacraments, they may the more merit the Kingdom of heaven. This, however, must be done with caution, since the greater part of men wish to prolong their lives so that they may abandon themselves to pleasures, and amass riches and honor. This sort of love particularly the Ecclesiastical Orator must destroy so that the miserable indulgence with which we gratify ourselves may be rooted out of our consciousness. He must explain these thoughts to the people: He who loves his life (which is nothing more than self-indulgence) loses it.¹⁴ That is, he deprives himself of the sight of God. We must love our neighbors. Nature impels us toward this love. Not by tongue and by word, but in deed and in truth are they to be loved.¹⁵ They are to be loved as Christ loved us.¹⁶ His love was freely given, strong and constant. In this connection, it will be fitting that the preacher censure the inconstancy of this world because men do not know how to love unless from that love some gain for themselves is apparent, or because they might through us gratify their impure passions. Indeed, we find them to be voluptuaries rather than friends, or, more correctly, men who speculate [in the amount of pleasure

¹⁴ John: xii, 25.

¹⁵ I John: iii, 18.

¹⁶ John: xv, 12.

they can derive from us].

The preacher will say that we all have the same Father who is God, that we have all been redeemed by the same most precious blood of Christ, that we all have the same Teacher in the Holy Ghost, that the Church is the mother of us all, that we enjoy the same Sacraments, we are children of the same earth, we aspire to the same home, and that we are truly brothers. Everything we have must be shared; that is, it must be contributed for common use: our talent, our time, our tongue, whatever we have learned through long study, and whatever has been given us through the beneficence of God.

Chapter VI

How Parents Ought to Love Their Children, and Children Their Parents

Many parents unknowingly hate their children when they think they have great love for them. Moreover, while these parents wish their children to be happy, they make them miserable through perverse discipline. Consequently, parents must be moved to a great love for their children. Those goods which the children can never exhaust must be developed in them. [These, of course, are] the Christian virtues, especially the fear of God. Let the preacher say to parents as a rebuke: "Do you love your children, you who arm them with nastiness of temper by your own proneness to anger, with

avarice by your own meanness, with blasphemy by your own impure speech, with invective, extravagance and insolence by your own ill gotten wealth? No, you hate your children, you make them miserable, you set them up as your idols, you spare the rod, you spoil them by your indulgence. You are the makers of your own misfortune."

In a sermon to children, the preacher will quote the opinion of Saint Thomas [Aquinas] that the love of parents for their children is much greater than that of the children for their parents because it is longer lasting and because the parents are more aware of the blood relationship. He will say that it is the greatest of crimes for children to inflict injury upon those who are so well deserving of them, whose bodies the Lord used that they might see the light of day. Ungrateful children are to be rebuked and thoroughly frightened. They should be told that without doubt they must face God as the avenger of their sins.

Chapter VII

How Husbands and Wives Are to Be Led toward Mutual Love

It is true that many disputes and many quarrels arise between husbands and wives. Therefore it is often necessary that they be exhorted to love each other. There are some whose satiety overcomes them soon as they have been aroused to this love. Those who love their wives more ardently than they ought are to be made

to appear as adulterers, or as men who very often consider their wives purchased property. They so indulge their vanity that they squander their patrimony [on their wives]. Women, on the other hand, are to be roused to love their husbands and to remain faithful to them. It should be said often that good wives are solicitous for the salvation of their husbands. Many infidel men have been made holy by faithful women, as may be shown by the example of Valerianus who was made holy by the sanctity of Saint Cecilia.¹⁷

Chapter VIII

How Hearers May Be Roused to Love of Their Country

There are to be found very few men who do not measure out everything with an eye to their own benefit and who do not put personal good ahead of the public welfare. Consequently, it is often necessary to lead hearers to love of country. To love one's country is to wish one's country well, to desire her to be good and happy, abundant in just and equitable laws, and filled with a race of good men. Therefore, whoever seeks to worm his way through flattery and blandishments into the hearts of those who are in charge over him, and whoever annuls [the concept of] equality by

¹⁷ Saint Cecilia was married to Valerianus while he was still a pagan. Through her efforts, he and his brother were converted to Christianity. All three were martyred.

displaying himself before others with extravagance and pomp does not love his country, he destroys her.

It should be pointed out that the city of Rome is the common home of all Christians. There is situated the Holy Apostolic See. To die for it is the most beautiful and most virtuous of deeds. The orator will be able to apply these facts to men whether they live in cities or in the country, and say that one may know whether a man loves the town or village in which he was born [by noting] whether he is eager to decorate his parish church, whether he cares for his children, indeed whether there are children, and whether he administers community affairs properly.

The preacher will recall for his people the fact that many Romans have died for their country, and that it is even better to die in defense of one's religion. [Such a willingness] is much more desirable in us [Christians] who expect eternal life [as the reward for such a sacrifice].

Chapter IX

How Friends Are to Be Moved to Mutual Love

[It will be remembered that friends have been defined as] men equal in age, having similar habits, associated by choice. The preacher, [then] must sometimes exhort friends to love each other truly. Let them take heed lest even though they call each other

friends and brothers in sweet voices, they really hate each other. Let them beware of their inner enemies, the murderers of their souls. The name of friendship is sacred. It is the consensus of souls in holy religion, in loving God, in practicing the Christian virtues. Those who wish the same thing, when they wish things that are contrary to the law of God, are more rightly to be called enemies than friends, for they wish one another evil when they act as accomplices and assistants to each other in the gratification of their foul desires. They are not friends when they plague men for loans, when they always praise so that they might please, when they refuse to criticize for fear of displeasing.

The preacher will sometimes cry out that the name of friendship is, as it were, exiled from the Christian republic. Those whom Holy Mother Church wishes to be most closely united, and whom she calls children of one Father, have no love for their brothers and sisters [in Christ], but rather do they customarily use this sacred relationship for license and for [committing] very many sins.

The people must be reminded also that their hearts should be one in Christ, and that they should have all things in common: faith, hope and charity, and participation in the Sacraments, and that they should delight in the same fasts, the same sermons, and in the perusal of the same holy books.

Chapter X

How Hearers Are to Be Moved to Resignation in God and to Zeal

It will be the part of the Ecclesiastical Orator to move his hearers to resignation in God in order that they might put all their hope in Him Who is the most benign Creator of the world and the Source of all good. If nothing is lacking to the birds of the air, how much less will the necessities of life ever be lacking to Christians who are brothers of the Lord, the adopted sons of God, future heirs of the kingdom of heaven.¹⁸ We shall use this name resignation until a more proper one occurs. Sprung from the love of God, it is the sweetest and most tranquil emotion of the soul. Because of it, whoever loves God and trusts in him will lack nothing, desire nothing, seek nothing except what he persuades himself will be pleasing to God.

The Ecclesiastical Orator will move his hearers to resignation in this manner: "The servants of princes are pleasing in proportion to their modesty. How much more, therefore, does this quality become the servants of God Who always gives to those seeking only to do His will much more than they have dared ask of Him."

Now there is one certain admirable effect of love to which the people are not to be urged. This is ecstasy. Since they are not

¹⁸ See Matthew: vi, 26.

capable of so great perfection, and since it is a special gift of God granted to so very few, this most noble passion is to be hoped for rather than urged upon the people.

[On the other hand,] zeal is [very definitely] to be urged. This is a certain fervor of the mind in which everyone ought to be persuaded to progress along with those who have made progress in it. The people are to be moved to zeal, priests are to be urged to it, those who rule cities are to be persuaded to it as well as the administrators of towns, lest they allow the people to set up for themselves gods other than the one true God, the Lord of heaven and earth. Let them take heed lest the people desert to the enemy Satan. Just as jealous men watch to see whether their wives speak with lovers, and watch closely what their women say, and examine every nod and deed, so let these rulers inspect just as carefully to see whether the poor are oppressed, whether men are crushed by usurers, whether vice is destroying the souls of those whom they rule, whether heresy has been able to creep in by any means, whether a city is contaminated by any evil custom, whether distinguished talents are being ruined through inactivity, whether the people are being properly instructed in Christian doctrine. The Ecclesiastical Orator will be able to move rulers to zeal this way: "You are the ministers of God, the fathers of the people, exemplars of the virtues set forth for imitation by the people. Most severe punishments are

in store for you if you fail to better men by your governance."

Priests, also ministers of God, are expecially to be moved to zeal so that they may shepherd the souls committed to their care more diligently than the jealous man guards his wife. [As priests,] they must attend, teach, correct and love [their flock], examine the morals of individuals, sparing neither the criminal nor the profligate. Sometimes, they must enter towns, villages and churches unexpectedly, to examine them carefully, to discover if anyone has been born to the gentleness yet strength worthy of the bishop and the pastor. Let the priest assume the mask of severity, sometimes strongly necessary to his office. Let him heed and imitate the Teacher of teachers, our Lord, Who cast the money changers from the temple.¹⁹ In this regard, he may use these words as a rebuke: "For the zeal of Thy house hath eaten me up. . . ." ²⁰ He will sharply reprimand those who wander about in the holy Church of God, not hearing the word of God, scorning the holy men who are pleased to frequent the most holy Sacraments. Whenever he speaks on the glory of God, let him say that riches, honor, and even life itself are to be despised.

So much, then, on the rules for rousing hearers to love. We will have more to say when we treat of the different kinds of audiences.

¹⁹ Mark: xi, 15.

²⁰ Psalm lxxviii, 10.

Chapter XI

That Audiences Are Never to be Roused to Hatred Nor to Indignation

The methods of inciting hate and indignation, treated by philosophers and others who have written on the art of Rhetoric,²¹ are pernicious and useless to Christians, and especially to the clergy. Consequently, we omit these things from our discussion. To arouse hatred in the image of God, the son of the same God the Father, of Whom we are all children called to the same heredity, is a sin to be loathed and most assiduously to be avoided, not only by the Christians but even by the most pagan of men. However, it does not follow from this that the sinner, whom the Lord can forgive, and who by his penitence can bring others to doing penance, is to be hated. Rather should we sorrow for him, and, as a brother, pray for him. We should also consider the matter often and fear greatly lest we too fall.

Indignation is sorrow arising from the good fortune of another whom we consider to be unworthy of it. This perturbation, as philosophers write,²² occurs especially in those who consider themselves worthy of the highest honors. They lament, then, either because they do not attain what the unworthy have attained, or because they see others whom they consider inferior to themselves being made equal to them. Therefore, this sort of perturbation is perhaps not [even] to

²¹ See Aristotle, pp. 96-99.

²² Ibid., p. 123.

be praised, [certainly] not to be aroused, since the edicts of God [regarding humility] are to be honored. It is the duty of the Christian man to place all others before himself, and to consider others better than himself. It is by no means impossible for those who have been evil and unworthy of honors to correct their morals and show themselves to be worthy. On the other hand, this emotion [of indignation] is not altogether to be vituperated in public, for it sometimes springs from the virtue [of justice]. However, because it does not make the soul better, and is not of benefit to society, it is not expedient to arouse it in other men.

Chapter XII

The Method for Moving Souls to Anger, That Is, to Zeal for the Honor of God, and to Clemency

Anger is sorrow for present evil. At least it is not without sorrow. Sometimes it will be useful to the Ecclesiastical Orator to arouse the people to this emotion. However, he will do this only when it is for the honor of God. David, enlightened by the Divine Will, explains anger, or rather zeal for the honor of God, in these words: "Be ye angry and sin not,"²³ Aristotle defines anger as the desire, accompanied by pain, for evident and manifest vengeance

²³ Psalm iv, 5. Cf. Ephesians: iv, 26.

against him by whom anyone justly thinks himself or any one of his associates publicly slighted and scorned.²⁴ From this definition of Aristotle, it can be gathered that doubtless the chief cause for arousing this emotion is contempt. Man, that arrogant animal, is so far removed from bearing scorn with equanimity that he seeks diligently to appear what he is not. Especially does he strive to be highly esteemed. The Ecclesiastical Orator will always take care to avoid arousing this emotion in his hearers. He will recommend that rather are we to rejoice when we are scorned, when men consider us nothing, when they heap contumely upon us, when they disparage us. These are medicines especially helpful in curing our pride. The King of kings, and Lord of lords, Christ, the Son of God, despised by this world, tormented with many insults, prayed for those who abused and persecuted Him. When He suffered the greatest injustices, He left us an example of gentleness. Anger is worthy of the Christian man and is to be aroused along with sorrow for him who does not recognize God as the Lord of heaven and earth, and for him who does not bestow due veneration upon Blessed Mary ever Virgin, the Mother of God and our advocate, nor upon the saints enjoying eternal life.

As we said at the beginning of this Chapter, anger can possibly be more correctly called zeal. That holy men, friends of God, were habitually moved by it can be seen from the writings of David: "But

²⁴ Rhetoric, p. 93.

my feet were almost moved; my steps had well nigh slipped. Because I had a zeal on the occasion of the wicked, seeing the prosperity of sinners."²⁵ And in another place he says: "I was jealous of those doing evil."²⁶ The people are to be aroused to this emotion [of anger] against heretics and public sinners. Special caution is to be taken, however, that those who hear us say such things understand that they are to pray for those against whom they are aroused, and that nothing is more lovable than clemency when the honor of God is not involved, that nothing is more acceptable to God and to holy men. Clemency is a composed state of the soul, the bridling of wrath, the conciliator of friendships, the nourisher of good repute, the expeller of discords, the fosterer of peace and the most pleasant companion of human life. The greater is one's progress in this virtue, the greater will be his reputation for wisdom and goodness. Indeed, it will often be necessary to lead souls to clemency, since everything [in this world] is filled with insults, and at the same time with hatreds. It is enough that those who heap insults upon us are miserable because they are acting unjustly, because they have sinned. We must subdue our minds, because that is to conquer, that is to imitate Christ, that is to aspire to eternal life.

²⁵ Psalm lxxii, 2-3.

²⁶ I find only ibid. and Psalm xxxvi, 1 and 7. Notice that throughout no distinction is made between "zealous" and "jealous." Scripture makes frequent mention of a "jealous" God.

Chapter XIII

How Souls Are Moved to Penance

Those who think ill of themselves are said to sorrow. And since nothing but sin, that gravest sickness of the soul, can justly be called evil, it must be said that voluntary sorrow is salutary, and that penitence is the medicine of sinners. Without penance no one can be saved. Without it, those who leave this life stained with sin are doomed to eternal death. Penance is the annihilation of iniquities, the fosterer of tears, the hope of salvation, a gift from heaven above. It does not reject the fornicator; it does not turn from the drunkard. Neither does it abominate the idolator nor repel the adulterer. Penance does not censure the scurrilous, nor reprove the blasphemous. It sustains not only the lofty, but all men, it shares all, it opens heaven to all, and leads us to that heavenly homeland [which we all seek].

Truly, nothing weighs upon our soul more heavily than sin, the most ponderous of burdens. Zacharias describes it with the simile of a lead weight.²⁷ David describes the nature of sin in these words: "For my iniquities are gone over my head; and as a heavy burden are become heavy upon me."²⁸ The Ecclesiastical Orator must show that

²⁷ Zacharias: v, 7-8.

²⁸ Psalm xxxvii, 5.

our souls are freed from this burden by penance so that they are able to fly with ease to heaven. When our Lord said, "Do penance for the kingdom of heaven is at hand,"²⁹ he showed that through penance the kingdom of heaven becomes attainable to men. Blessed John the Baptist said, "Bring forth fruit therefore worthy of penance,"³⁰ for, behold, "the Kingdom of God is at hand."³¹ Because of penance, the robber³² was received into heaven. Through penance, David received the Holy Ghost again after his sin. Through penance Massenas was made acceptable to God after bloody crimes. Through penance, Peter the Apostle was forgiven after his threefold denial of Christ, and the Apostle Paul, blasphemous, abusive persecutor of the name of Jesus, was received among the Apostles.

The Ecclesiastical Orator will at times be able to expound very forcefully on this subject in the following manner: "O penance, by which sin, with the mercy of God, is forgiven, and the gates of Paradise opened, you are the healer of the wasted man and the giver of joy to the sad. You recall life from death and restore us to our pristine state. You renew our honor and give us faith, virtue and

²⁹ Matthew: iii, 2; iv, 17.

³⁰ Matthew: iii, 8.

³¹ Mark: i, 15.

³² Saint Dismus, who was crucified on the right hand of Christ.

grace. O penance, what shall I say of you? You loose all bonds; you throw open all that has been unbound; you calm all adversaries, heal all bruises. O penance, mother of mercy and teacher of virtues, you lift up the fallen, and renew despairers. You expel avarice, horrify license, confine tongues, compose morals, make malice odious, expel greed."

The Ecclesiastical Orator may often impel his hearers toward [this same virtue of] penance in this manner: "Nothing is more calamitous than to sin, to be severed from God, to serve the Devil as a deserter from the battle line of Christ. The sinner is an ingrate against God, our most benign Father. [By sinning] he who is born for eternal life is cruel to himself. He is an enemy of his own salvation. He condemns himself. The companion of sin is very often ill repute. Poor, obscure, even infirm men are not unhappy if they are supported by a conscience assured of a life well led. Sinners [on the other hand] are miserable." In a somewhat oratorical manner we say here that to sin, as Blessed Anselm writes, is to deprive God of the honor due Him, to refuse Him obedience. For moving souls to penance, since it is natural for us to be sorry for those evils we know have come upon us through our own fault, these words should often be recalled: "Destruction is thy own, O Israel" ³³ And, ". . . how often would I have gathered together thy children as the

³³ Osee: xiii, 9.

hen doth gather her chickens under her wings, and thou wouldst not?"³⁴

The orator will often quote this very true thought of the Apostle Paul: "All men want to be saved."³⁵ It is indeed erroneous to believe that men are driven to any crimes by fate and by the stars.³⁶ The preacher will remind his hearers that conscience, as Saint Gregory Nazianzen writes, is our private and true tribunal, and that nothing is more detestable to God than excusing ourselves for our sins. Hence, our lives must be so ordered that we accuse ourselves of our sins, be sorry for them, confess them and make amends. He will show also that the greatest punishments will be given those who do not do penance. For if, as the Apostle says, anyone who violated the law of Moses was condemned to death without mercy on the testimony of two or three witnesses,³⁷ how much more worthy of punishment are those who have provoked our most benign Father, God, with their sins? So the orator will emphasize the fact that we must flee to penance, as it were the tree of life, and that we must cast our sin from ourselves. Sin is a serpent which

³⁴ Matthew: xxiii, 37.

³⁵ Saint Paul tells us in I Timothy: ii, 4, that God "will have all men to be saved."

³⁶ See St. Augustine, The City of God, v, 8-9.

³⁷ Hebrews: x, 28.

spawns death in the entrails of men. It is a serpent breathing venom and bearing fatal sickness. David, the exemplar of penitence, must be heard and imitated when he says: "My knees are weakened through fasting; and my flesh is changed for oil."³⁸

Chapter XIV

How Hearers Are to Be Moved to Mourning

The brother of sorrow and the son of penitence is mourning. It is a noble virtue of Christian men, the expeller of vanity and folly, the companion of wisdom, and the most faithful comrade of beatitude, as our Lord bears witness in the Gospel when He says, "Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted."³⁹ For just as the servant weeping renders his master well-disposed, and the son calms his father with tears, and the little boy appeases his mother with his crying, so also does the sinner with profuse tears placate the wrath of God, and restore himself to His friendship. And so the Ecclesiastical Orator must point out that the highest benignity of God appears in the fact that when He said, "In sorrow shalt thou bring forth children,"⁴⁰ he wanted the punishment He had

³⁸ Psalm: cviii, 24.

³⁹ Matthew: v, 5.

⁴⁰ Genesis: iii, 16.

given to the first woman for her sin to be turned to the salvation of the human race. For just as sin gave birth to mourning, so also did mourning destroy sin. Just as the worm born in wood gnaws itself to pieces later in its life, so does sorrow born of sin crush the sin itself.

Let the preacher exhort his hearers to prevent the punishment of sorrow which they deserve on account of their sins, and to extinguish the funeral pyre of sin, not by great quantities of water, but by a few tears. For however great may be the fire of sin, a few tears will yet extinguish it. Let the preacher exhort his hearers to appear before the judge before he comes into the tribunal, to weep not over the punishment but over the crime, and not only to weep over it, but to weep bitterly, as Peter did, to cry out from the depths, to shed fountains of tears. Then the Lord, moved by mercy, will forgive the sins, for He is clement, as, indeed He Himself has told us: ". . .I desire not the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way, and live."⁴¹

The preacher may well point out that we should mourn because we do not know ourselves, and to our own ruin we cherish excess. Moreover there should be mourning because in the perigrination of this life we live as if we were never going to die, pleasing ourselves and not God. We defile the image of God in which we were made.

⁴¹ Ezeckiel: xxxiii, 11.

As exiles, we forget the heavenly homeland and consider this world to be our home. As heirs, we deprive ourselves of the heredity of that most ample kingdom. As adopted sons of God and brothers of Christ, redeemed by His most precious blood, we are made children of the Devil through our own defect and worthlessness. We set our hopes in men, whose characteristic it is to deceive and be deceived. We are devoid of charity, the soul of all the virtues. We are neither patient nor kind, we are envious, we are too grasping in regard to what is ours. While we are dust, ashes and shadow, we arrogate to ourselves many goods [of this world as if we and they were permanent]. More desirous of this life than is good for us, we refuse to acquiesce to the will of God. Too often putting our energy into unnecessary affairs, we waste our time. Cavillers of words, seekers after empty glory, always learning, never arriving at wisdom, we follow that worst of teachers, the crowd, we flatter ourselves and delight in the sweet poison of praise. Like men delirious with illness, we turn away from the medicine handed down to us from heaven; in times of adversity we are dejected, and in prosperity we gloat.

[Moreover,] there should be mourning because, in the different storms of this life, either we do not reach port or we are shipwrecked in the harbor. In the battles of this life either we desert [to our enemy the Devil], or, if we return to the camp of Christ, we win miserably because we do not fight under the standard of Christ with the necessary

constancy of soul.

The general ills of the world are to be mourned. We should lament because the faith is never safe, virtue too often lies dead, the innocent lie oppressed, and honors are bestowed upon the unworthy. It is to be particularly bemoaned that the most sacred religion of our Lord Jesus Christ is corrupted and contaminated by the disease of various heresies. New enemies of our Holy Mother the Church are cast out daily, impiety reigns, cruelty dominates, tyrannical license rules. At this particular time, many topics pertaining to the misfortunes of the Christian republic and the tyranny of the Turks can be adapted [to a sermon on the subject of mourning].

This passage from Jeremias needs to be explained: "Who will give mater to my head and a fountain of tears to my eyes? and I will weep day and night for the slain of the daughter of my people."⁴³ We are not to mourn for those who have died. Rather are we to pray for them. We are not to weep that this life is a game, a sleep, in no wise enduring, the motion of a sharp prowed ship sailing on the sea, the track of the swimmer, a vapor, the dew of the morning, a flower blooming in the early day and withering in the evening. Death brings many advantages. It sets a limit to sin, it frees men from many different perils and misfortunes, it offers access to eternal and blessed life as Saint Ambrose writes very plainly in a certain little work on the

⁴³ Jeremias: ix, 1.

blessing of death.

Chapter XV

How Hearers Can Be Persuaded to Fast

A part of penance, the parent and guardian of Christian virtues, is fasting. Thus, the Ecclesiastical Orator will point out that fasting has been used as a means of placating the wrath of God and for expiating sin. It has also frequently been used for obtaining a favor from God. When the Ninevites heard the words: "Yet forty days, and Ninive shall be destroyed,"⁴⁴ they all took refuge in fasting. Everywhere there was sackcloth, ashes, weeping and wailing, and thus their city was delivered from danger.

Whenever Moses and Elias wanted to approach God as closely as man may to address Him, they sought help from fasting. Daniel, entering the lions' den hungry from fasting, returned, the harmless one unharmed by the savage.⁴⁵ The three boys in Babylon entered the furnace, and after speaking together for some time in the midst of the fire, left the fire with bodies shining more brightly than the flames,⁴⁶ for the nature of their bodies, strengthened by fasting, contended

⁴⁴ Jonas: iii, 4.

⁴⁵ Daniel: vi, 16-23. However, according to verse 18, it is the king who fasted, not Daniel.

⁴⁶ Daniel: iii tells the story.

with the nature of the fire, and victory followed therefrom.

In explaining this matter, let the Ecclesiastical Orator put these questions to his hearers: "Do you find this struggle worthy of note? Do you consider it a new and unheard of victory? Wonder then at the power of fasting and enter upon it with an eager soul. It brings aid in the furnace, it protects the lions' den, it casts out devils, it recalls the will of God, it checks His wrath aroused by our sins, it frees us into true liberty and affords the highest peace and tranquillity. But if God, even as He formed man in the beginning in the Garden of Eden, wished to bind him by the law of fasting when He said: "Of every tree of paradise, thou shalt eat: But of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat,"⁴⁷ much more is fasting to be deemed necessary outside the Garden of Eden. If medicine was useful before a plague, it was much more so after the plague. If weapons were advantageous before the war against sense pleasures had begun, they are much more vital after the battle against pleasures and vices has been brought to us by the demons.

In concluding his sermon, let the preacher show that it is absolutely necessary for us to live well, and that we must seek aid from fasting. If Adam, the father of the whole human race, and the author of human calamity, had heard [this first word], he would never have heard the second: ". . . for dust thou art, and into dust thou

⁴⁷ Genesis: ii, 16, 17.

shalt return."⁴⁸

Chapter XVI

How Hearers Are to Be Moved to Mercy

Mercy is a species of sorrow, born from our misery [at the sight] of one of our neighbors being overwhelmed by injustice. The Ecclesiastical Orator will here offer a tacit objection against anyone who defends his own hardness of heart by saying that one who suffers under poverty and misfortune [probably] deserves these miseries. Let him rebuke them thus: "No one is free from sin. Those who thus proclaim others worthy of punishment sin very greatly since they assume the part of God while they are themselves greatly in need of mercy."

Rousing the people to this virtue, Saint Gregory Nazianzen, in the introduction of his oration on the love of the poor, calls all his hearers paupers needful of the grace of God. Saint John Chrysostom wrote a sermon in which he shows that we are not to examine too carefully whether the poor [to whom we give] are good or bad. A certain good man who believed this used to say that he somewhat preferred to bestow largess more freely on wicked men on the chance that, recognizing in their own conscience

⁴⁸ Genesis: iii, 19.

their unworthiness of his benefice, they might be led to give glory to God and do penance.

Many distinguished exhortations may be found in the sermons of the holy fathers on almsgiving. The principle reason [for persuading the people to this Christian generosity] is that all men are paupers; all need the mercy of God. Only those who are devoid of mercy are unhappy. Almsgiving is a most profitable activity. It is the daughter of mercy. This distribution of money among the poor is a certain lawful and holy usury. Those who retain their wealth are greedy defrauders and robbers. The more children one has the more diligently must he look to his almsgiving to make God the more propitious toward them, as Saint Cyprian writes. Recall also that our Lord has intrusted to each one the care of his neighbor. The earth is His, and the fulness thereof, the whole world and everyone who lives in it. Rich men are the stewards of the wealth of God. [Moreover,] almsgiving erases sin. It is the greatest of benefits, as Saint Cyprian writes, a remedy left us at once salutary and easy.

Chapter XVII

How Pity for the Dead Is to Be Aroused

Certain ones among the dead are worthy of our attention also. This is particularly true of the poor souls in Purgatory. Their

stains, that is, sins not completely wiped out by just punishment and reparation [before death], are cleansed in Purgatory. This is done, as Saint Augustine writes, "by cleansing fire." The most noble and truly Christian emotion of pity is to be aroused for these poor souls. [In other words,] the preacher's hearers are to have pity not only for their own souls (and this is the origin of pity), nor the needy souls of those still living, but also for the souls of the dead. These are the ones who most need our favorable voice, the holy sacrifices of priests, prayers, fasts and alms, that their punishments may be remitted and they may be liberated from the sufferings they endure. The sorrow, the misfortune [of Purgatory], as holy men write, surpasses all the miseries by which the human race is tormented. This matter can be most fittingly treated on that day which Holy Mother Church has designated for sermons for the dead.⁴⁹ "Have pity on me . . . at least you my friends."⁵⁰ These words of Job can be paraphrased as if dead parents, grandparents and great-parents emitted them from the depths of Purgatory.

⁴⁹ Perhaps All Souls' Day.

⁵⁰ Job: xix, 21.

Chapter XVIII

How Audiences Are to Be Aroused to Fear

Fear is sorrow for imminent evil. But all evils are imminent to those who do not fear God. To fear God, as Saint Gregory writes, is to omit nothing of the things He has commanded us to do. For arousing fear, these arguments are most suitable: "God must be feared because He is omnipotent, because He is just, because He is the Lord. The omnipotent God spoke, and all things were made. He created all things by a word, and He preserves and rules these things. A just God, He does not allow the order of things to be perverted. He does not allow His honor to be diminished. He overthrows cities, provinces and kingdoms because of their sins. He is to be feared because He is the Lord. He often uses this name ("I am the Lord") for striking terror into the hearts of those who refuse to recognize His dominion."

The words of the prophets, divine voices as it were, are to be related: The Lord "is a holy God, and mighty and jealous, and will not forgive your wickedness and your sins. If ye leave the Lord, and serve strange gods, he will turn, and will afflict you, and will destroy you" ⁵¹ These words which Isaias the prophet spoke are fearsome judgments: "Howl ye, for the day of the Lord is

⁵¹ Josue: xxiv, 19-20.

near; it shall come as a destruction from the Lord."⁵² And these words of Joel: ". . . let all the inhabitants of the land tremble: because the day of the Lord cometh, because it is nigh at hand. A day of darkness and of gloominess" ^{52a} And these words which Osee spoke: "Hear the word of the Lord, ye children of Israel, for the Lord shall enter into judgment with the inhabitants of this land: for there is no truth, and there is no mercy, and there is no knowledge of God in the land. Cursing, and lying, and killing, and theft, and adultery have overflowed, and blood hath touched blood. Therefore shall the land mourn, and everyone that dwelleth in it shall languish" ⁵³

The description of the Last Judgment is particularly pertinent to this topic. Here is a very distinguished example taken from a certain oration of Saint Gregory Naziansen: "What shall we do," he says, "on that day when our sins will be laid bare; when sharp and bitter accusers will be present to weigh against our sins the many benefits we have received from God, and to demand from us an accounting? Then we will be led away, condemned by ourselves, convicted by our own judgment. Thus we will not be able to say that we pay a penalty imposed upon us by an unfair judgment. Ordinarily this affords

⁵² Isaias: xiii, 6.

^{52a} Joel: ii, 1-2.

⁵³ Osee: iv, 1-3.

consolation in the most calamitous circumstances.⁵⁴ And a little later he says: "At that time, the [judgment] seat will be set up, and the judge ancient of days will seat Himself, and the fiery river will flow, and the light from the ancient bourn and the readied shadows . . . " and the rest.

Audiences must be impressed with the idea that no one ever has been or ever will be able to escape divine justice. The longer God overlooks the sins of men so that they may repent, the more severe will be the punishments He metes out to those who persist in their sins. Many things educate us toward a fear of God: the brevity of life, untimely and premature death, illness, famine, and many other misfortunes. Our constant struggles against our bitterest enemies teach us fear. Especially should we be persuaded to fear by the Devil who goes about like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour.⁵⁵ As Saint Basil writes, after Satan had revolted against his Maker, he became the enemy of God, and of man who is made in His image. He is called Satan because he is the opponent of good (the word is used thus in the book of Kings). He is the impostor, calumniator, impeller to sin, the denouncer who rejoices at the ruin of souls, always inducing us to commit new crimes by the example of others.

⁵⁴ But not at the Last Judgment where the decisions rendered will be so manifestly just that we will be deprived of even that solace of claiming fraud.

⁵⁵ I Peter: v, 8.

Chapter XIX

That Those Who Take Pride in Prosperity Must Be Moved to Fear

Those who live in prosperity, and glory in the fact that everything is going exactly as they would wish it, need to be particularly fearful. The preacher might well propose to them these words of Blessed Jerome: "Wherever there is tranquillity, there the tempest is." In explaining these words, the Ecclesiastical Orator can say that the Christian is most violently attacked when he does not know he is being attacked. Those maladies which we do not feel are the more serious.⁵⁷ An affluence of worldly goods and prosperity have habitually been the mother of pride. The example of David offers a point in proof. As long as he suffered under the wrongdoing of Saul, as long as he fled through the desert [in exile], he did not fall into the Devil's hands. Rather did he preserve his innocence with constancy. Therefore, he said: "I met with trouble and sorrow: and I called upon the name of the Lord."⁵⁸ Yet when he had conquered his enemies and enjoyed peace, he fell into those most base sins of adultery and homicide. So not without cause did he sing in his Psalms: "Envy not the man who prospereth in his way"⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Supra, p. 61.

⁵⁸ Psalm cxvi, 3-4.

⁵⁹ Psalm xxxvi, 7.

Wise men, even among the pagans, were wont to ask God to temper their prosperity in some manner. This precept is especially fitting for Christians whose proper mark it is to endure suffering and to do good. For them the struggle has been joined with the bitterest and most severe enemies. Unless they win they will not achieve the crown [of everlasting beatitude]. It is fitting that they be ever fearful, and as transients [in this world] ever to seek the heavenly homeland. The preacher may remind the people, moreover, that in prosperity they must be ever mindful of the inconstancy of this world. They must be ever mindful that death can not be far off. Never fail to recognize God as the giver of all goods. Recall often the many who were outstanding for their sanctity, their learning and for various virtues. To these the Lord gave such an abundance of goods that more frequently and more freely they confess as their own [those] sins which others [merely] think about. They are moved to a greater recognition of divine beneficence and to giving thanks. Perhaps the prophet spoke of these when he said: "Serve ye the Lord with fear: and rejoice unto Him with trembling."⁶⁰ Blessed Augustine interprets these words to mean that there should be exultation so that we may give thanks, but fear lest we fall.

⁶⁰ Psalm ii, 11.

Chapter XX

How Audiences Are to Be Moved to Shame

Let us speak of modesty, or shame, which has a great affinity with fear. Modesty, or shame, is nothing other than a certain extenuation of the mind, sprung from past, present and future evils, because of which some disgrace must be borne. This feeling is worthy of the Christian. The use of contraries should be most effective in arousing audiences to shame, because nothing can be as foreign to the Christian as shamelessness, the daughter of pride, the companion of misfortune. Audiences must be aroused to modesty as well as shame. They must be shown how wicked it is to flee the army of Christ, to desert to Satan, and how disgraceful it is to contaminate the members [of the Mystical Body] of Christ, and transform the image of God into the nature of beasts. These evils are brought about especially by voluptuousness. It is most wicked, however, for men to fall away from the faith of their parents, to live outside the Church, not to be nourished by the most holy Sacraments, the food [of the soul].

Chapter XXI

How Audiences Are to Be Moved to Joy

Joy is a feeling of the soul conceived in the belief of some present good. Audiences can be moved to joy by the commemoration

of the benefits which have conferred upon us in the greatest number by Heaven. This is most easily done on feast days which the Holy Ghost teaches the Church to celebrate and to offer to the faithful as a shortcut to divine goodness and clemency. "Always rejoice," says Saint Paul to the Thessalonians, "Pray without ceasing. In all things give thanks"⁶¹ When Blessed Basil explained these words in two of his sermons, he showed that prayer is to be united with joy, and the giving of thanks with prayer. There is to be rejoicing, as that holy man says, in recognition of the fact that while we are nothing, we have been made in the image of the Lord of heaven and earth, and endowed with intellect and reason. Because we know God, and the beauty of the Creator, we conceive the arts and the sciences. Just as we read the providence and wisdom of God through certain signs, so do we distinguish good from evil. We were taught by our nature to seek good and avoid evil, but we were alienated from God by sin. Then we regained grace at the cost of the blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ and were liberated from a most miserable servitude to Satan. The hope of resurrection and the expectation of the good of angels and the heavenly kingdom fills us with a holy joy. We are all children of the same Father Who is the Father of all, and we have for a mother the same holy Church,

⁶¹ I Thessalonians: v, 16-18.

by whose milk we are nourished. This is the common inheritance of all Christians. Therefore no one should be without joy. On the contrary, the disposition of the well-disposed soul is joy. All should have joy, not only in times of prosperity when we are moved to give thanks, but even in times of adversity, because when God punishes us, He does it so that He might be seen to love us truly as sons and not as strangers. There should be joy because those of us who have fallen into the gravest illnesses [of the soul through sin] lack neither physician nor medicine, Jesus Christ. He shows us the safest way in our passage through this life. In this fog of error, He discloses the truth. In this shadow of death, He preserves life. There should be joy because by prayer we ascend, as it were, to heaven, because, as Hilary says, we are able to resist the devil. But especially should there be joy because through it we are joined with God. There should be special joy because of the paternal providence of God, and the care He has for us. The holy prophet Jeremias moves the Church to joy with these words: "Thus saith the Lord: There shall be heard again in this place . . . The voice of joy and the voice of gladness, the voice of the bridegroom and the voice of the bride, and the voice of them that shall say: Give ye glory to the Lord of hosts, for the Lord is good, for his mercy endureth forever. . . ." ⁶² And Baruch: "Put off, O Jerusalem, the garment of thy

⁶² Jeremias: xxxiii, 10-11.

mourning, and affliction; and put on the beauty, and the honor of that everlasting glory which thou hast from God. God will clothe thee with the double garment of justice, and will set a crown on thy head of everlasting honor. For God will show his brightness in thee, to everyone under Heaven."⁶³

The people will be moved to holy joy when sermons are given on frequenting the holy Sacraments, and when they are told that there is a bread which comes down from heaven, and if anyone eat it he will not die.⁶⁴ It is the bread of life, the saving food of our souls. We may, if we wish, be fed by this ambrosia of heaven and be joined with Christ. Nothing can be more efficacious or more desirable. There is to be joy because of the great heavenly benefits which have been given to us. This is our daily bread, not to be taken only once a year,⁶⁵ because the more often one receives it the more peacefully will he live his life.

Preachers always move the people to rejoice, and arouse Christian joy by the announcement of plenary indulgences or Jubilees. The Holy Spirit customarily guides the Supreme Pontiffs, the Vicars of Christ, to bestow these upon the faithful for just causes. This

⁶³ Baruch: v, 1-3.

⁶⁴ John: vi, 50.

⁶⁵ To fulfill the minimum requirement of the Church to receive the Holy Eucharist during the Easter time.

should be a great cause of joy among Christians, for not only does God, Who alone forgives sin, remit through the Sacrament of Penance the severe punishment due our many sins, but the treasurer of goods, the administrator of the Church, the Vicar of Christ, the Roman Pontiff, also remits punishments by the merits of Christ's most precious blood, one drop of which would suffice for the redemption of all the men who have been, are, and ever will be. Likewise, by the merits of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and all the saints, and by the prayers of the faithful we are made participants in the divine mercy and indulgence so that we may be freed from the punishment which we have deserved. Indeed, the preacher may well add, no one can rejoice who has not obtained from God, through the most holy Sacrament of Penance, pardon for his sins. As Saint Augustine wrote, no one can rejoice who has not amended his life so that he might receive that life which is the most holy Eucharist.

Chapter XXII

How Those Who Have Been Dejected by Adversities Are to Be Consoled

The life of man is exposed to many different perils, and every day many things happen to throw us into the greatest confusion. For it is a weakness of human nature that man, weak, not to say miserable animal that he is, often greatly needs consolation. Consolation may aptly be described as a moderation of sorrows and anxieties brought

about by proper judgment and by hope of divine providence and paternal guidance itself. Since it is the same God Who is the Father of mercies, the people should be roused to seek and expect from heaven the solace of all this consolation in adversity.

The Ecclesiastical Orator can move the people to this [virtue] by the example of those who made great gains from troubles, as did Joseph who, in exile and in the land of his poverty, attained to such a station of dignity that he was made governor of all Egypt.⁶⁷ The more the children of Israel were oppressed by the Egyptians, the more they multiplied and grew. Ezechiel, an exile in Chaldea, saw in the midst of captives wonderful visions of God.⁶⁸ Nebuchadnezzar, a king arrogant and proud in his prosperity, was cast from [the society of] men and changed into a beast. Finally, after he had praised God, Whom he had earlier blasphemed, he regained his lost senses.⁶⁹ By these and many other examples, the orator can show that men are afflicted and tempted by adversities so that their virtue, like gold in a furnace, may be tested and exercised, or that their sins may be expiated. The Orator will say that trials and temptations (we use these and certain other terms familiar in the Church because these

⁶⁷ Genesis: xli, 41.

⁶⁸ Ezechiel: i, 1.

⁶⁹ Daniel: iv, tells the story.

instructions are directed to the Ecclesiastical Orator) teach men many virtues: humility, patience and, most particularly, prudence. God uses this means of reprimanding those who have been insolent in prosperity. Tribulation teaches the fear of God. It is the expeller of contumely, incontinence and vanity. David indeed spoke the truth when he said: "I am with him in tribulation, I will deliver him and I will glorify him."⁷⁰ And again, "The Lord is nigh unto them that are of a contrite heart. . . ."⁷¹

Saint Chrysostom taught that there is no evil from which good cannot come. In a certain sermon he says: "Have you suffered evil? If you wish, it need not be evil. Give thanks to God and it will become good." This was eminently recognized by him who, visited by the greatest tribulations, was enlightened by the divine will to say: "Every day will I bless thee; and I will praise thy name for ever. . . ."⁷²

Let the preacher add that the evils which befall us oftentimes befall us because of sin. Saint Gregory Nazianzen is seen to affirm this in a sermon on the plague of hail, when, with a most lucid enumeration of the sins of the people, he showed how the hail had fallen from heaven by divine intention.

⁷⁰ Psalm xc, 15.

⁷¹ Psalm xxxiii, 19.

⁷² Psalm cxliv, 2.

Recalling his previous statements, changing some, adding to others, the Ecclesiastical Orator can say that all misfortunes arise because [of our sins] one man has oppressed the poor, and seized [as his own] a portion of the earth, another has criminally added to his boundaries by fraud or force, enlarging his home by the home [of another]. He has been especially zealous to ruin his neighbor by wresting from him what is his so that he might have no neighbor, just as if he alone were to inhabit the earth.⁷³ Still another has befouled the earth by usury, harvesting where he has not planted, reaping where he has not sowed. He has increased his wealth not from cultivation, but from the want and need of the poor. Another, unmindful of the very great benefits he has received, has defrauded God, the Prince of heaven and earth, of the tithes due Him. Still another has been moved by the misfortunes of neither widows nor orphans, nor has he given any trifling bit of bread or food to the poor, indeed [thereby refusing them] to Christ [Himself]. Some have scorned the humble, others have returned good advice with hatred, still others have ignored these words: "Blessed be the Lord, we are become rich. . . ."⁷⁴ They do not give back to God the rewards of their industry which He has given them. Others have sold grain, and

⁷³ Isaias: v, 8.

⁷⁴ Zacharias: xi, 5.

grasping for filthy profits from its high price ask, "When will the month run out, so we can raise prices and open the storehouses?"

So, various misfortunes have come upon us at the demand of divine justice. That is why hail falls from the sky, and earthquakes destroy cities, and there are terrible floods. God uses famine, pestilence, war, the most savage tyrants, and like instruments for converting his people.

Yet it is to be strongly deplored that just as the same fire that reddens the gold burns the cross, so one and the same force of afflictions moves many indeed to the exercise of distinguished virtues, but it condemns, destroys and exterminates many. This happens because they have fastened and set all their hopes in those things which ebb and flow, and not in God. Therefore, they do not recognize the divine will, and, deceived by self love, they do not know it is much better to be tested and proved than not to be tested and to be condemned. So the orator will say that it is not a misfortune to be punished by God, to suffer buffets from the Father, since He Himself has said: "Such as I love, I rebuke and chastise."⁷⁵ and since He is a faithful God, He will not allow us to be tempted beyond what we can stand.⁷⁶ But it is most miserable not to be improved by the stripes we receive from the Father.

⁷⁵ Apocalypse: iii, 19.

⁷⁶ I Corinthians: x, 13.

Chapter XXIII

How Audiences Are to Be Moved to Hope

Hope is the expectation of good. Christian men are moved to hope by the goodness of God, the Passion of Christ, and the blessed deaths of the many martyrs who thereby attained eternal life. There is a most beautiful passage in Gregory Nazianzen's exposition of the statement of Joel: "Who knoweth but he will return, and forgive, and leave a blessing behind him. . . ." ⁷⁷ Gregory replies: "I know quite well, and I am the bondsman of divine mercy, for when the wrath of divine nature is averted, it may, without doubt, if we so wish, be turned to the virtue especially appropriate to His nature, mercy."

On feast days especially, the orator can move [the people] to hope. This will be particularly true if, on that most holy day of the birth of our Lord, he preaches a sermon to the people who are accustomed to swarm to the churches on the day. He may say that the Son of God has come into the world so that the gates of heaven may be opened. He was made man so that we might, as it were, become gods. That is the day of our redemption, of ancient reparation and of eternal happiness. Errors have been overcome because the Teacher has come to dispel the shadows of ignorance; the Physician has come

⁷⁷ Joel: ii, 14.

to cure the illnesses of the soul. At last has been born the King Who will suppress the tyranny of the Devil and Who will conquer even His own death. But the clergy must be very careful, as we have said, lest in arousing hope in the hearts of their hearers, they inculcate an empty presumption.⁷⁸ From this [spiritual arrogance] many heresies and many misfortunes rise up. Therefore the sermon is always to be tempered so that it becomes clear that our Lord has come into the world surely to open the gates of heaven to those who wish to enter, indeed to cure the very grave illnesses into which we fall. Yet, He will by no means cure those who spurn the physician and the medicine. He is the Teacher of all, but yet not of the unfortunate ones who disregard His teaching.

Let us suppose that a sermon is to be delivered to people who are disturbed by a fear of impending evil. This was necessarily the case during this year when (to use the words of the prophet) "the mercies of God were so greatly apparent."⁷⁹ Not only were we not consumed by the threatening tyranny of the Turks, but the Christian princes have even reported a glorious victory. In such a case, the most serious thoughts of the prophets should be adduced, especially Isaias: "O my people . . . be not afraid of the Assyrian: he shall

⁷⁸ Supra, I, vii, p. 46.

⁷⁹ See Isaias: lxiii, 7.

strike thee with his rod, and he shall lift up his staff over thee in the way of Egypt. For yet a little and a very little while, and my indignation shall cease and my wrath shall be upon their wickedness. And the Lord of hosts shall raise up a scourge against him" ⁸⁰

By these words, the Orator can show that no one who trusted in the Lord was ever confounded. The Lord also spoke these words through the Prophet: ". . . I will make the pride of infidels to cease, and will bring down the arrogance of the mighty." ⁸¹

Chapter XXIV

That This Holy Republic Which Is Called the Church Is as a Body Adorned with Many Members, and That Audiences Are to Be Persuaded to Remain in Their Proper Calling

Now since the universal republic of the Christian world represents, as it were, some very noble body, enformed by a most superior soul, [the preacher] might say that the soul of the Christian Republic is religion, that the body [is made up of] many classes of men. These are called the members of that body. Most noble amongst its members are priests, the ministers of God, and among them a hierarchy makes all subordinate to the Vicar of Christ whom they very greatly

⁸⁰ Isaias: x, 24-26.

⁸¹ Isaias: xiii, 11.

venerate. His defenders, as it were, and his most beloved children are emperors, kings, and princes, who, because they are set above [other men], are therefore the more immediately subordinate to the ministers of God. They defend Holy Mother Church with their counsel, their wealth, and even their blood.

The Ecclesiastical Orator will explain this social format with a view to teaching each one that he should remain in his own appointed sphere. It is very difficult for one to rule himself, to say nothing of ruling others, and so the people are therefore not to envy priests, not to envy rulers. Rather are they to pray for them, to help them with advice, with money, and with labor, to sustain their burden. Kings, bishops, princes and even priests are not to have the comforts of this life.⁸² Their lives are filled with dangers, labors, worries, and very many of them are deceived [by this world]. It is a great sin to disparage the ministers of God. They may truly be called servants because it is expected of them that they will serve the conveniences of others. Indeed, if men are wise, they will understand that there is nothing more estimable than to obey, to live for themselves [rather than others], and to aspire to eternal life and our heavenly homeland [without the added burden of administrating

⁸² A more specific reference is made to the severity of life required of the preacher in Book III, infra. p. 255. See also ibid., note 117.

the lives of others]. Let no one spurn Holy Mother Church, the teacher, mother and nourisher of wisdom.

There is nothing, no matter how apparently evil, which does not contain the seed of some good. For instances, bad princes sometimes are the medicine of divine justice. If the people will walk in the ways of God and pray, they will learn that those whom they have discovered to be bad will turn out good. This thought, therefore, is to be expounded often: All power is from God. The Supreme Pontiff, the Vicar of Christ, and those whom the Pope has set over them, bishops and pastors, as ministers of God, ministers of divine justice or of divine mercy, must be obeyed. So also are they to obey kings and their civil administrators. By a secret but very wise judgment of God, it sometimes happens that those who rule are the less worthy, and that those who obey are frequently the more wise. This point, however, is self evident and requires no lengthy argument. Rather more time is to be spent in relating the many worries of princes and administrators of the republic. His purpose here is to lessen the envy of those in private life, and who, unmindful of the conveniences of their private life, are often miserably depressed. The preacher's greatest concern in this line of argument is to persuade the people to love the princes that rule them, and to ask God to supply their rulers with the spirit of counsel so that, as parents of the people, they might strive for the safety of the citizenry.

Chapter XXV

The Different Kinds of Audiences Can Be Distinguished Either by Nature, or by Learning, or by Choice, or by the Secret Judgment of God

A distinction between the different kinds of audiences should be understood through the use of some classification or division so that it might be more easily impressed upon the mind of the Orator.⁸³ So let us say that classes of hearers, as it is with classes of men, can be divided principally into four groups. First, they can be distinguished by nature, as some are male, some female; some are parents, others children; some are old, and some young. [Secondly,] they can be classified by learning or art, as some are teachers, some pupils. [Third, they may be differentiated by choice] because listeners choose friends from among certain men equal to them in age, habits and circumstances. [Finally, audiences] are distinguished by some secret judgment of God. (We use this form of speaking to

⁸³ In Book II of the Rhetoric, Aristotle recognizes the differences among men as they compose different audiences, but Valiero's distinctions between different kinds of audiences are medieval rather than Aristotelian. Marsee Fred Evans says, "A great deal of stress is given throughout the [medieval] period to the matter of audience analysis and adaptation . . . Some of the medieval works list as high as a hundred different types of people to whom the preacher must preach, and give instructions for preaching to each class." A Study in the Development of a Theory of Homiletics in England from 1534 to 1692, Unpublished doctoral dissertation, State University of Iowa, 1932, I. pp. 59-60.

avoid making mention of chance, which holy men have considered an empty name.) Thus there are to be differentiated those to whom all things happen adversely, and those who live in prosperity. Kings are to be distinguished from subjects, masters from servants, the poor from the rich, the noble from the common. The Ecclesiastical Orator must adapt himself to all these classes of audiences.

[To men he might say that] they are better suited to ruling by council, that they are more noted for fortitude than women. Men are to be warned, however, not to despise the weakness of the female sex. Rather should they sustain and protect the women who have been made their partners in religion, hope, faith and charity, prudence, justice, temperance, fortitude,⁸⁴ virginity and even martyrdom. That sex is no less pleasing to Almighty God than ours. The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ was shed for women also, and the Blessed Virgin, His Mother, was set forth as the exemplar of all the virtues to both sexes.

Indeed, women [on the other hand] should be persuaded to moderate their passions. However, they should not conceal too much what their desires are. Whenever they find themselves leaning toward an excess in either direction, they should be moved to turn their minds toward religion and works of piety. By the gentleness of their

⁸⁴ Their partners, but apparently not their equals if men "are more noted for fortitude than women." Both men and history would disagree.

nature, they are easily moved to devotion, and by the softness of their hearts, to the gift of tears, to salutary weeping.

Truly, men and women are differentiated in the binding and loosing of matrimony. That is, some are married and some are celibate. The preacher may point out at length that celibacy is most noble and earnestly to be sought after because it is nearer to the angelic nature and that by it men are freed from many distractions. Let him warn the celibates, however, not to scorn those united in marriage. Rather let them consider their own peril, to watch lest they fall, to guard themselves, to flee idleness, the source of voluptuousness and of all evils, to pray without ceasing, to be zealous in pious works and to give aid to their bishops and pastors.

In delivering a sermon to men, let him say that wives are to be chosen with the fear of God, with greater love for children and less desire for pleasure, so that they might thus obtain a blessing upon their children. Relate to them these words of Tobias the younger: "For we are the children of saints, and we must not be joined together like heathens that know not God."⁸⁵ Point out at length that married persons can perform the duties of matrimony without sin, and that the grace of the holy Sacrament [of Matrimony] dampens the tinder of the passions, and weakens and restrains

⁸⁵ Tobias: viii, 5.

concupiscence, and preserves them from fornications and sinful adulteries. The desire for pleasure is thus to be tempered.

Press the point that the wife is to be deeply cherished by the man because they are two in one flesh. They have one home, one table, one bed, one estate and the same offspring. They have cooperation, assistance, mutual provision in labor and the management of necessary affairs. For this reason, the Apostle said to the Ephesians: "Husbands, love your wives, as Christ also loves the Church. . . ." Christ, the King and Bridegroom, relieves the misfortune of the Church, counsels her in necessary matters, aids her weakness, and provides always for her wellbeing. By this example, men are to be persuaded to instruct their wives, and to let themselves be questioned if their wives wish to learn anything as the same Apostle bids.⁸⁷ Teach them that the ornament of women is silence, the care of the home and of family affairs without sordidness. Whenever it is necessary for husbands to rebuke their wives, they should imitate the moderation of Job who said nothing more to his wandering and foolish wife than: "Thou hast spoken like one of the foolish women."⁸⁸

Husbands are to be persuaded to live with their wives as

⁸⁶ Ephesians: v, 25.

⁸⁷ Cf. I Corinthians: xiv, 35.

⁸⁸ Job: ii, 10.

Christ lives in the Church. In this connection, the preacher will do well to relate the words of the Prince of the Apostles: "Ye husbands, likewise dwelling with them according to knowledge, giving honor to the female as to the weaker vessel, and as to the co-heirs of the grace of life. . . ." ⁸⁹ In this regard he will also be able to explain that many married couples strive not for the blessing of God but for the power of money, beauty of the body, and family connections. Few men are to be found who teach their wives, and [as a result] there are many women who do not know the articles of faith and who do not hold to the precepts of Christian law. Many men in this world are either too strict or too indulgent toward their wives. Many desert the wives whom daily association has led them to scorn. These men refuse even to live with their wives, and foul their bodies with fornication or even adultery. It will often be useful to the preacher to treat this matter, and when he does, let him show that the wife owes her husband faithfulness and pure love, and that she should be particularly zealous for his sanctity. She should ask God to grant her husband progress in his ways. Moreover, the wife owes her husband the fear which springs from love, and, in addition, subjection, obedience and reverence. Sara obeyed Abraham and called him master. The holy Apostle commanded women to be subject to their

⁸⁹ I Peter: iii, 7.

husbands,^{89a} and denied them dominion over men.⁹⁰ With the words of Saint Paul, he can sometimes most advantageously deplore the insolence and pride of certain women who exercise a most cruel tyranny over their husbands either because they have brought a large dowry to their marriage, or because their husbands do not control these wives as they should. Indeed, many faithless wives are so far from praying for their husbands as they ought that they seem rather to strive to drive them to madness with their quarrelling. They dispute with their husbands with terrible audacity. Rather than being subjects, they rule. They command rather than obey. They wish to be waited on by their husbands, not to show them respect. Indeed, this matter is to be amplified, since, as it has been very truly written of the Spartans, those cities in which the discipline of women is not proper are deprived of half their happiness.

Chapter XXVI

How Women Are to Be Persuaded

It has long been the custom to deliver sermons to an audience of women. Since modesty, the outstanding virtue of women, is often corrupted by a too great care for the body, the Ecclesiastical Orator will take great care to warn women away from that perverse habit.

^{89a} Ephesians: v, 22.

⁹⁰ I Timothy: ii, 12.

In persuading them, let him treat these words of Tertullian: "He has perished in thy beauty if he has desired it, and already admitted what he desired; and you, O woman, have become a sword for him." And add: "Wherefore do you paint yourself, that others may die? Where is that precept, love the Lord thy God, and thy neighbor as thyself? [Matthew: xxii, 37, 39.] It is not to be laid to the charge of beauty as happiness of body and soul." Let him say that the clothing [affected in] the city is to be definitely shunned lest it do them harm. Speak these words as a rebuke: "Is the form God gave you displeasing to you? In it have you reprov'd and censured the Maker of all beauty and of the whole world, since you have undertaken to emend it and to cast it off? Have you taken on additions from the Devil and in this manner not safeguarded the form ordained by God? Our Lord said: 'Who can change your hair from black to white?' [Matthew: v, 36] You contend impiously with God. Put on the splendor of simplicity, and the blush of modesty. Paint your eyes with the truth. Piercing your ears with the words of God, and adorning your necks with the yoke of Christ, bow your heads to your husbands and you will be sufficiently adorned. Clothe yourselves with the silk of honesty, with the cotton of sanctity and the purple of modesty, and thus ornamented, you will have Christ for a lover." Thus, from Tertullian, with a few changes and additions, the Ecclesiastical Orator will be able to persuade women to modesty.

Since, indeed, this sex has been ennobled by the testimony of the Holy Church, they are to be moved to Christian hospitality, to works of piety, and to caring for the sick. The preacher will set forth the examples of holy women like the Shunamite who, having forsworn men, built a house for Elisha and placed in it a bed, a chair, a table and a candlestick so that the prophet might have a place to lodge when he passed by.⁹¹ Let him relate also the story of the widow who sustained Elias with her hospitality. Although she had nothing more than a handful of meal and a little oil, as Scripture declares, she shared everything with him.⁹² I myself have heard a sermon by Cardinal Borromeo, Archbishop of Milan, which was addressed to matrons and exhorted them to works of piety. He used the example of Saint Helen, mother of the emperor Constantine. Truly, [he told them,] as she had sought the cross of Christ, they should likewise seek the same Christ among the poor and minister to Him. They were aroused to a marvelous and zealous piety. These are the worthy works which are to be practiced by truly noble women, and especially by widows who have no husbands to hinder them.

Next, by the words of the Apostle, they are to be exhorted to abundant prayer to God: Indeed, whoever is a widow, let her solicit day and night with supplications and prayers, as did Anna the

⁹¹ IV Kings: iv, 10.

⁹² III Kings, xvii, 10-16.

prophetess, who, to the age of eighty-four "departed not from the temple, by fastings and prayers serving night and day." ⁹³

Blessed Augustine, in a book on widows, uses these words to exhort the woman to whom he was writing to practice the virtues:

Be holy, humble, and calm. Perform works of mercy and justice without number. If anyone rebukes you, or derides you, that makes you pleasing to Christ, and the things you bear are of Christ. Above all, meditate unceasingly upon the commandments of your Lord, devote yourself zealously to prayers and the Psalms, and if it be possible, let no one come upon you at any time unless it be while you are either reading or praying.

Indeed, virgins are to be exhorted to taciturnity, because she who guards her tongue guards her soul from distress; to humility because the Lord is mindful of the humility of his handmaid; to chastity of body and soul, because the unmarried woman, the virgin, reflects upon the things of the Lord, that she may be holy both in body and in spirit; to modesty lest, being daughters of God, the brides of Christ, most like the angels, they fall by their impudence into the snares of the evil demon. The Blessed Virgin Mary, the Mother of our Lord, the Queen of heaven and earth, our advocate, offers the best example for leading women to an ardent practice of all the virtues. Saint Ambrose says in his book On Virgins that the life of the Blessed Virgin was a lesson not only for women, but also for the entire human race.

She was a virgin, not only in body, but in mind as well, humble of heart, serious in her speech, prudent. She was eager not to

⁹³ Luke: ii, 37.

she speak, but to read. She placed her hope not in the uncertainty of wealth but in prayer for the poor. She was intent upon her work, modest in conversation, not accustomed to seek man as the arbiter of her mind, but God alone. She made it her practice to harm no one, to yield to her elders, to wish well to all, not to envy her equals, to flee boasting, to follow reason, to love virtue.

[Moreover it was her custom] not to leave home except to go to church and then only in the company of her parents or neighbors. Comparing these customs with the customs of the women [to whom he speaks], the preacher will rebuke them and move them to imitate her whom they venerate, whose aid they implore, by whose humility and obedience the dishonor of the female sex has been abolished.

Chapter XXVII

How Parents and Children Are to Be Persuaded

Now, indeed, in a Christian audience, there will be many parents and many children. It is true also that the sensible son is the glory of the father and the indiscreet son, one possessed of perverse morals, is not only the disgrace but even the calamity of the father.⁹⁵ Therefore, children are to be persuaded to be mindful of the many kindnesses they have received and of the great labors their parents have performed for them with special love as we said a little earlier.⁹⁶ Children are not only to love their parents, but

⁹⁵ Proverbs: x, 1.

⁹⁶ Supra, p. 104.

also to obey them in all the things that pertain to the administration of the home and to family affairs. They must accept exhortations, corrections and salutary remedies as an indication of their very great love. Children must be reminded that they cannot be grateful enough to their parents, and that they must bestow all honor upon them.

These words of Tobias, often to be repeated by the Ecclesiastical Orator, will be very persuasive: ". . . and thou shalt honor thy mother . . . For thou must be mindful what and how great perils she suffered for thee in her womb."⁹⁷ Let the orator cite also what has been written in another place: ". . . forget not the groanings of thy mother."^{97x} Of what an evil fame is he that forsaketh his father: and he is cursed of God that angereth his mother."⁹⁸ Parents are to be aided, their life is to be sustained, and they are not to be afflicted by sadness. Children who destroy their parents' peace of mind with secret marriages are severely reprehensible. Moreover, it often happens by a most just decision of God that punishment, misfortune and even infamy follow from secret marriages.

In calling to mind the perverse habits of children and describing the misfortunes of many parents in this regard, the Ecclesiastical Orator will sometimes say that the perversity and stubbornness of

⁹⁷ Tobias: iv, 3-4.

^{97x} Ecclesiasticus: vii, 29.

⁹⁸ Ecclesiastes: iii, 18.

their children comes as the punishment of their own indulgence. It is the medicine which can cure their own weaknesses. In this connection, let him quote this passage from the Proverbs of Solomon, and explain it at length: ". . . he that loveth [his son] correcteth him betimes."⁹⁹ And let him say that it is natural for parents to protect and nourish their children, that it has been impressed upon each and every parent by the holy religion in which we have been born and educated that, in so far as they are able, they must restrain their children from sin, instruct them in good morals, correct and punish them whenever it is necessary, for there is foolishness in the heart of a boy and the rod of discipline puts it to flight.¹⁰⁰ He who spares the rod hates his son.¹⁰¹ Many parents have fallen into everlasting misfortune because by their negligence or indulgence their children have turned out for the worse. These requirements are made of the parents so that their children may be educated in those matters which pertain to the Christian religion. He who teaches his son (to use the words of Holy Scripture) will be eulogized in him,¹⁰² and will not be grieved at the time of his own death. The wise son brings joy to his father, but the foolish son is the sorrow of his mother.¹⁰³

⁹⁹ Proverbs: xiii, 24.

¹⁰⁰ Proverbs: xxii, 15.

¹⁰¹ Proverbs: xxiii, 24.

¹⁰² Cf. Proverbs: xxix, 17.

¹⁰³ Proverbs: x, 1.

There is no lack of pertinent arguments by which the Ecclesiastical Orator can rebuke the listlessness of parents: that parents make their children ministers and heirs of vengeance, with the result that they are always miserable; that many parents occasion the destruction of men by allowing their children to become disciples and promoters of usury; that they provoke their children to wrath by their own harshness, and so bring it about that (as the Apostle says) they become weak spirited;¹⁰⁵ that it very often happens to incontinent fathers who are ensnared by new loves, either for women whom they would make step-mothers of their children or for harlots, that they are forgetful of [their duties of] parental love. The Ecclesiastical Orator will sometimes set the infamy of such men before the eyes of his hearers, especially those who have already diminished the patrimony received from their parents and which they ought to leave behind for their children.

Chapter XXVIII

How the Aged Are to Be Moved

We have said that audiences are to be distinguished also by age, some being old, others young, and still others standing at middle age. No more detailed distinction seems to be necessary in any sermon. This word may be directed to the aged: Since they are afraid

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Colossians: iii, 21.

of being cheated of the usufruct of things they have, they are suspicious, timid, greedy, and obstinate toward hope. Many of them are even without shame. The Ecclesiastical Orator will make it clear to the elders in his audience that these traits are to be avoided lest they do themselves harm by not knowing themselves [that is,] by deceiving themselves overmuch, by falling into rash judgment. They are to be suspicious, yes, but of the honors of this world, and of the riches that please them so much. The timidity which is in them, the result of cooling passions, may well be turned toward an increase of humility. They are to put their trust in the Lord for he who confides in Him is never confounded. Prudence has taught them that the hopes of men are false and their plans uncertain, but let them not put too high a price on their prudence lest they learn to measure the promises of God and His liberality by the same rule with which they measure the promises of a lying, hypocritical world. If men do not seem to esteem them highly, they are not to care greatly. Rather let them practice the mercy toward which a certain gentleness of nature inclines them. They will be of benefit through their counsel. By the authority they have, they are to teach the things which usage has taught them.¹⁰⁶ They are to exhort, reprimand, and aid the children of the neighborhood, and regard them as their own children.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Quintilian, III, iv, 2.

If, indeed, they are rich, they are to share their wealth more freely with the needy because they have less need of wealth being soon to migrate from this life. Freed by the kindness of nature from the tyranny of the passions, they are to strive to free themselves also from the desire for honors and wealth. [Let them avoid posing] as men educated by prudence and long experience in the ebb and flow of human affairs; rather let them always add "perhaps" whenever they venture to assert something. In the presence of defamy and slander, let them impress upon the detractors that it is quite possible that the affair mentioned was not as they say. Since older people tend to show a certain moderation in doing things, let them use this same moderation in seeking honors, and in wishing for a long life. The things which the Apostle writes to Timothy are very pertinent to this topic: "That the aged men be sober, chaste, prudent, sound in faith, in love, in patience. The aged women in like manner in holy attire, not false accusers, not given to much wine, teaching well."¹⁰⁷

The Ecclesiastical Orator must be careful not to rebuke the aged. Rather let him exhort them as fathers; young men as brothers; old women as mothers; young girls as sisters in all charity.¹⁰⁸ He will remind them that it matters little whether one be young in age or in habits, and that nothing more unfortunate can be conceived than

¹⁰⁷ Not Timothy, but Titus: ii, 2-3.

¹⁰⁸ I Timothy: v, 1-2.

an old wanton and voluptuary.

Chapter XXIX

How the Young and Those of Middle Age Can Be Moved

In preaching a sermon to young men, because their hopes are easily aroused, because they are sanguine, and because they are inexperienced in the affairs of the world, the Ecclesiastical Orator will show how uncertain are the outcomes of things, and how dangerous it is to put a presumptuous trust in divine mercy. Since many young men do not understand the difficulties involved in acquiring wealth, they are inclined toward liberality. The Ecclesiastical Orator, therefore, must point out that prodigality is the source of many crimes. It is a very serious sin for one to take anything away from his mother and father. Moreover, young people seem to be inclined to magnanimity, therefore the preacher must show that Christian magnanimity lies in controlling the passions and in forgiving injuries. This is to be considered the highest victory. Nature's gift to the young is a lack of suspicion. Consequently, they are to be warned of being cheated and of falling into sinful pleasures, lest through their own wicked habits that most wicked counsellor, the world, draw them into deserting from the camp of Christ to the camp of Satan without their even being aware of it. Prone to mercy, they should take pity on their own souls, and beware the perils to which their

critical age exposes them. As lovers of modesty, they should stand in awe of good men, but especially of God. But [during the period of adolescence] when the souls of young men are disturbed, there is nothing more unfortunate than to be a slave to tyrannies within themselves. This tyranny is lamentable and turbulent if reason is to be a queen most wickedly enslaved to her servants and handmaids desire and wrath. In this matter, the preacher will be able to quote these words of Blessed Peter: ". . . I beseech you . . . to refrain yourselves from carnal desires which war against the soul."¹⁰⁹

Further, since young men are accustomed to give many signs of inconstancy, the Ecclesiastical Orator will teach that the mother of this vice is fickleness. These words of Blessed John may be cited in connection with their wonted gullibility: " Dearly beloved, believe not every spirit. . . ."¹¹⁰ They are not to inflict injustice, because those who are injured are troublesome and the final end of injustice is calamity. Since they are desirous of praise, because they want to be considered something other than what they are, let the preacher show that a lie is especially displeasing to the source of all truth, and that it brings disgrace to those who tell it.

¹⁰⁹ I Peter: ii, 11.

¹¹⁰ I John: iv, 1. Cf. Ecclesiasticus: v, 11.

They must set themselves a limit in all things. The longest life is as a moment of time, a flower that blooms in the morning and is withered by evening. Thus, if they are to look to their own salvation, repentance is not to be put off. They are to temper the ardor and impetuosity of youth by holy practices and pious works, and to devote themselves to some learning. The example and counsel of some good man will make them more prudent and more good. Adolescence is to be held strongly suspect as an age full of dangers and snares.

In preaching to men of middle age, the Ecclesiastical Orator will adapt his sermon to the fact that talent, judgment and memory are matured in them. They will, therefore, use their divine gifts all the more for the enjoyment of others and the salvation of souls. They are to practice that art for which they were born and to which they have dedicated themselves from their earliest years. Without pretense and without ostentation, they are to increase their prudence in the company of their elders. They are to educate the young by the moderation of their lives and by their serious discourses.

Chapter XXX

That by Their Learning Teachers Are Differentiated from Pupils, and the Religious and the Clergy from the Laity. That Priests are the Teachers Who Follow Christ and Teach His Precepts.

As we pointed out a little earlier, audiences are distinguished

by learning, in that some are called teachers and some pupils. Among teachers, there are some who teach divine matters, and some human. This distinction applies to women as well as men, with this one exception that women are not allowed to teach sacred letters. In this connection, certain inquisitive widows, running around town, are to be admonished to preserve their moderation, to pray, to administer their families well, to attend sermons, to hear Masses, to give themselves over to pious works, and by their silence to manifest Christian modesty.

Further, let the Christian Orator point out that the best teacher was our Lord Jesus Christ, for the things He taught were useful. He taught briefly, He taught easily, and He did all the things He taught. Sometimes the Ecclesiastical Orator preaches a sermon in the synods at the command of his bishop, or at times he will preach to congregations of religious. At these times, perhaps he will find it more useful to discourse at length on the matters regarding learning and mutual consolation which have been taught in the dioceses. In explaining the Gospel to the people, he will from time to time treat this matter [of teaching]. He will do it not so as to suggest himself as a good teacher, but to exhort the people to ask God to send good teachers to His people. He will say that the true Teacher is Christ. The holy Apostles, and the bishops who followed them, are His under-teachers. Satan is the worst teacher because he disseminates useless

and pernicious doctrines. Always at work, the Devil teaches his disciples to teach falsely, and in the guise of virtue the evil sophist deceives even the holy. In addressing priests, the Ecclesiastical Orator will show that they are the ministers of God, as I have often said, and that many things spoken by the prophets apply to them, as, for example, these words of Malachias: ". . . O priests . . . If you will not hear, and if you will not lay it to heart, to give glory to my name, saith the Lord of hosts: I will send poverty upon you, and will curse your blessings, yea I will curse them, because you have not laid it to heart. Behold, I will cast the shoulder to you, and I will scatter upon your faces the dung of your solemnities, and it shall take you away with it."¹¹¹ In this matter he should be careful lest he treat the subject in such a way as to diminish the authority of the priests, and to arouse the people against them. He should use the first person when he speaks to the people concerning priests. For example, in treating these words of Malachias, let him say, "These words that we have spoken can scarcely be recalled without tears, and so we say them here to ask you to pray for us, dearly beloved brothers." Only rarely, however, is a sermon for priests to be delivered before the people. The place for this is rather in congregations of religious, and in the synods which are customarily held

¹¹¹ Malachias: ii, 1-3.

by bishops. Here these words of Blessed Chrysostom may be copiously explained: "There are many priests, but few are [really] priests. The Church does not make the priest, rather the priest the Church." And especially these words of our Savior: "You are the salt of the earth."¹¹² "You are the light of the world."¹¹³ It is to be shown at length that priests are required to have the virtues of goodness, sobriety, chastity, wisdom, and he will be able to prove this from many scriptural passages. He can use the testimony of David to show that goodness is necessary: "Let thy priests be clothed with justice. . . ."¹¹⁴ And Isaias wrote: ". . . be ye clean you that carry the vessels of the Lord."¹¹⁵ The Lord attests to the necessity of sobriety in priests with His words to Aaron and his sons: "You shall not drink wine nor anything that may make drunk, thou nor thy sons, when you enter into the tabernacle of the testimony"¹¹⁶ To this virtue, the holy Apostle Paul exhorts Timothy with the words: "Be sober."¹¹⁷ To show that chastity is required in the priest, let the preacher use the words of Saint Paul to his same beloved son exhorting him to guard his chastity in all things.¹¹⁸ Let him add that

¹¹² Matthew: v, 13.

¹¹³ Matthew: v, 14.

¹¹⁴ Psalm cxxxi, 9.

¹¹⁵ Isaias: lxi, 11.

¹¹⁶ Leviticus: x, 9.

¹¹⁷ II Timothy: iv, 5.

¹¹⁸ I Timothy: v, 22.

good manners are required in priests, and relate these words of the same Apostle: "Giving no offense to any man, that our ministry be not blamed: But in all things let us exhibit ourselves as ministers of God" ¹¹⁹ It will often be profitable to say that wisdom is greatly necessary and to recollect these words of the prophet: "For the lips of the priest shall keep knowledge, and they seek the law at his mouth: because he is the angel of the Lord of hosts." ¹²⁰ The preacher can strike fear into the hearts of priests with these words: "Because you have rejected wisdom, I reject you from being my priest." ¹²¹ All these things the prophet sought from God with these words: "Teach me goodness and discipline and knowledge" ¹²² Priests are especially to be exhorted to flee from avarice. Note these words of Micah: "Her princes have judged for bribes, and her priests have taught for hire, and her prophets thereof divine for money . . . Therefore, because of you Sion shall be plowed as a field, and Jerusalem shall be as a heap of stones, and the mountain of the temple as the high places of the forests." ¹²³ Examples may also be drawn from holy men, especially priests like Gregory the Supreme

¹¹⁹ II Corinthians: vi, 3-4.

¹²⁰ Malachias: ii, 7.

¹²¹ Apparently a paraphrase of I Kings: xv, 23.

¹²² Psalm cxviii, 66.

¹²³ Micheas: iii, 11-12.

Pontiff, and Saint Martin the Bishop, Saint Dominic and very many others whom the books of sacred history contain in abundance.

Chapter XXXI

How Audiences, Who Sometimes Disregard Priests and Preachers, Can Be Moved

When it becomes necessary to preach to the people a sermon on the priesthood, these words are to be quoted: "All things therefore whatsoever they shall say to you, observe and do: but according to their works do ye not" ¹²⁴ Do not scorn the ministers of God, but rather mourn for the misfortune of those who show themselves unworthy of such a great gift, and who arouse God's most just wrath against themselves. The hearers of the word of God, spoken to them by the disciples of the Apostles, the priests who preach them His word, are to be moved to remember the things they hear so that they might hear them profitably. They must not let themselves be among those of whom it was written: "Ever learning, and never attaining to knowledge of the truth." ¹²⁵ The clergy do not usually preach sermons to the members of those religious orders founded by such holy disciples of Christ as Augustine, Jerome, Francis, Dominic and Benedict. Even dead, these saints preach through

¹²⁴ Matthew: xiii, 3.

¹²⁵ II Timothy, iii, 7.

their most holy rules. Moreover, members of religious orders, versed in every kind of letters, teach each other.

Chapter XXXII

How Other Disciples of the Holy Fathers, That Is Nuns, Are to Be Persuaded

Some priests, by order of their bishops, have been accustomed to preach to the congregations of nuns founded by the holy Fathers we have named. These women are to be moved to fear, to joy and to the rest of the holy passions whenever the preacher deems it useful. Having withdrawn themselves to convents, leaving behind their parents, their neighbors and all worldly things, they live along not only to observe more fittingly the precepts of God necessary for salvation, but also to practice the Evangelical counsels, voluntary poverty, perpetual chastity, and perfect obedience. They have solemnly promised these things to God. Therefore, as Saint Basil tells us, just as bathers must first unclothe themselves, those who enter a monastery to live together in the cause of piety must instantly divest themselves of every desire for money and other worldly things. By their own free will, they must renounce these and all carnal desires. To them, these words can be adapted: "When thou hast made a vow to the Lord your God, thou shalt not delay to pay it: because the Lord thy God will require it. And if thou delay, it shall be imputed to thee

for a sin."¹²⁶ And these: "Hearken, O daughter, and see, and incline thy ear: and forget thy father's house. And the king shall greatly desire thy beauty"¹²⁷ And those which have been written by the Blessed Apostle: "For I have espoused you to one husband that I may present you as a chaste virgin to Christ."¹²⁸

To arouse in them a certain holy joy, these words are to be used: "Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity,"¹²⁹ women live together in one place, so that their will might be one, their religion one, their charity one. Then they are to share all things, and so to live in the house of the Lord for all the days of their lives.¹³⁰ It is fitting that they address God in a chorus,¹³¹ and living on earth, yet to lead a heavenly life.

Monasteries are the image of paradise, if there is peace and concord in them. If, on the contrary, discord is sown within their walls, they are the picture of hell. There is no nobility that can be compared with the nobility of the brides of Christ, and no happiness can be found in this life as great as that which exists in monasteries.

¹²⁶ Deuteronomy: xxiii, 21.

¹²⁷ Psalm xliv, 11, 12.

¹²⁸ II Corinthians: xi, 2.

¹²⁹ Psalm cxxxii, 1.

¹³⁰ Psalm xxii, 6.

¹³¹ Doubtless a reference to the practice of chanting the Divine Office as a community.

The preacher will recount also the advantages the sisters have and the inconveniences they escape [in their secluded life]. They do not seek sustenance, nor bear the discords of marriage or the pangs of childbirth, nor the molestations of children. They hold their discourses with God, and not with wicked men as do those who live in the world.

Chapter XXXIII

How Teachers of Human Wisdom Are to Be Moved

The Orator will persuade the teachers of human arts and sciences to impart the things which they themselves have learned. Divine gifts are to be shared. The more the arts and sciences are shared, the more they grow. Let teachers instruct in the art they profit by as easily and briefly as possible. Special pains must be taken to see to it that all the other arts serve as handmaids to theology, the queen of the arts. Let them exclude no one, nor as speculators teach the rich more freely than the poor, for the noblest form of almsgiving is to teach. In this regard, secular rhetoricians are to be thoroughly frightened lest they educate young men to deception and sedition.¹³² Even more, philosophers must be warned not to teach a mass of superficialities such as the thought of Averroes

¹³² The time honored anathema flung once more at the sophist.

on the duration of the world and the immortality of the soul. Anyone can see that this is the mark of an impudent and impious man. Let them not dare, in the cause of ostentation, to destroy character by teaching what the holy Councils have forbidden.

The Ecclesiastical Orator must teach lawyers and doctors, and others versed in the noble arts, to practice their professions in the fear of God. Let him strike the fear of divine justice into doctors if the sick die without the holy Sacraments of the Church. Let him call lawyers to a horrible judgment if through their fault a law suit is prolonged, if enmities arise, if widows and orphans are oppressed.

Chapter XXXIV

Concerning the Different Kinds of Friends and Their Manners

Let us proceed to the third distinction--that audiences are differentiated by choice. Some men are called friends, and others, while they are not enemies, are not called by that name because they have not become acquainted with each other and have no connections with each other. The Christian Orator will sometimes say that all Christians are friends, because they share a common heaven and earth, they have in common the most precious blood of Christ, common Sacraments, and in common the prayers of the Church. However, those are more properly to be called friends who live in some society, under

the same standard, intent upon the same good works, entertaining the same pious hope. Of this sort are the many societies of lay brothers. The Holy Spirit moves some to educating boys in Christian doctrine, some to the practice of various kinds of self-denial, others to prayer and the frequenting of the holy Sacraments, still others to consoling criminals awaiting the death penalty. The Ecclesiastical Orator will praise as highly as possible these holy kinds of friendship and many others, all of which are meter out, not in hope of gain or pleasure, but from piety and holiness of life. Idleness is thereby avoided and honor is shown to God the Author of all goods. Moreover, let the preacher persuade these companies of pious men and women to persevere. When he delivers a sermon to the women, let him say that this life is difficult and perilous indeed. It can truly be said: "Wee to those who are alone," for we all live by the help of others. By this help we solve the labyrinth of this life and make our way more easily to the heavenly homeland. Those friendships which the love of God and a zeal for piety have counselled are true, stable and lasting. We must not let Satan, that cunning and pernicious hunter of our souls, sow discords in our holy societies. By the aid of prayer and the frequent use of the Sacraments his efforts are dashed to pieces. Teach the rule that each one support the other and say nothing without seeking the aid of the Holy Spirit. If any dissension arise, let it be brought to the abbot, or, if necessary, to the bishop.

Chapter XXXV

How Soldiers Are to Be Persuaded

Sometimes it happens that we cannot enjoy most dear peace and war becomes necessary, because in this life various disturbances arise and many perils threaten. Certain men are chosen to defend the religion and the homeland, either because they excel others [in the art of war] or because they offer themselves for the task. These men are said to be versed in the military craft. As Aristotle tells us, in the cities there are the high, the middle and the low.¹³³ Soldiers, then, are to be called among the high, and defenders of the republic. Therefore, whenever the Ecclesiastical Orator delivers a sermon in time of war, let him say often that it is the duty of many to defend the religion of Christ, to fight in defense of Holy Mother Church, for the honor of God, for the sheep redeemed by the most precious blood of Christ, and if it be necessary, to die. It is the duty of Christian soldiers to be very vigilant, to guard justice, to aid miserable men. It is very ignominious for men in military service to have no other intent than to become rich or to befoul themselves with intemperance, and to be conquered at the very moment of victory by oneself, by one's own desires. These words from the book of Kings are applicable here:

¹³³ See Aristotle, Politics, translated by Benjamin Jowett, (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1921), VII, 9-10, esp. 10, init.

"Be a strong man, and let us fight for the laws of our God and for our people."¹³⁴ In explaining these words, the preacher will say that all soldiers are to fight for Christ, for the most holy Sacraments, for holy monasteries, for virtue, liberty and peace. There are to take up arms swiftly against Satan, the minister of cruelty, most bitter enemy of the Christian name, most impure advocate of all crimes and evil deeds, and against his disciples. It is not possible for one who fights thus to be conquered, for to die for religion, or even to be captured, is to be considered a very great victory over one's own passions and desires. Having said these things, he will moderate his manner of delivery somewhat and add that he earnestly hopes all Christian soldiers will follow as their leader John the Baptist and imprint upon their hearts the words of this precursor of our Lord, for when some soldiers had approached this most holy man and asked him, "And what shall we do?" we read that he answered: "Do violence to no man; neither calumniate any man; and be content with your pay."¹³⁵ For this is what happens. Those generals or soldiers who abuse their power and burden, injure, or oppress some one of their fellow soldiers, or even of their conquered enemies, when it seems that they should rather spare lives, or those who inflict injustice to extort money, most

¹³⁴ Cf. I Kings: iv, 9. with this paraphrase.

¹³⁵ Luke: iii, 14.

certainly disgrace this noble discipline. They are to be thought soldiers of the Devil rather than of Christ. I should say, however, that this argument is to be merely touched upon and not expounded at length unless perhaps a war is being waged among Christians and Catholics. At such a time the things I have said could be explained more fittingly and fruitfully.

Chapter XXXVI

How Merchants Ought to Be Moved

There are some men who choose for themselves the life of commerce. In the judgment of the wisest men, these are not to be praised if they can make a living any other way, unless they acknowledge the necessity for contributing whatever they gain from their labor to a praiseworthy end, such as the endowment of their daughters, to the distribution of alms, and to the aid of their country. I would not think that commerce is to be vituperated, for it brings many conveniences to the lives of men. Also, it makes men industrious, and removes idleness and laziness, the sickness of cities. However, that sordid kind of commerce that fattens on the misfortune of the helpless is to be vituperated. The preacher will sometimes recite these words of Ecclesiasticus: ". . . a merchant is hardly free from negligence. . . ." ¹³⁶ Great care must be taken to remove

¹³⁶ Ecclesiasticus: xxvi, 28.

every fraud, lie and pretense from the soul of merchants. The true business is winning souls for Christ, the practice of usury with God, for the Giver of all wealth repays a hundredfold, even to the giving of eternal life.

Chapter XXXVII

That Princes and Subjects, Nobles and Commons, Rich and Poor Differ among Themselves by Some Secret Judgment of God

The fourth kind of audience remains to be explained. It pleases the ignorant crowd to say that men differ according to a blind, unstable and accidental chance. We reject all these names, however, and call whatever is attributed to fortune the secret and wise judgment of God. Thus it happens that some men are kings and others are subjects, some are strong while others are weak, some are nobles and others are commons, some are rich and some are poor. Often those who rule are better fitted to obey, and those who are in charge abuse their power while men endowed with the highest virtues often lie neglected and unknown. The heirs to great wealth are often the greediest of men, and men who should be in charge of a tutor succeed to the administration of a family. There are men living obscure lives in the country who would be very well fitted to giving counsel and to ruling others. When he speaks of this matter, the preacher will make it clear that God rules this world

with a paternal direction, and that we are to acquiesce in His wisdom and fatherly governance. All men can be called kings if they have learned to rule themselves. All men are powerful, because, aided by divine grace, they can progress in the holy virtues. All are noble, because they are made in the image and likeness of God, and are brothers of Christ, redeemed by His most precious blood and called to a celestial heredity. All are rich, because Christ, the King of heaven and earth, the Lord of all goods, has made us participants in His riches and in His treasury.

Chapter XXXVIII

How the Clergy Are to Deal with Princes and with Subjects

Very rarely, perhaps never, will the clergy for whom we write deliver a sermon in the presence of kings and princes. If that should ever occur, we warn them to avoid the most wicked fault of flattery, and not to flatter these rulers in their presence, for that does not befit ministers of Christ. Moreover, they are not to dare rebuke them in any assembly, not, indeed, because of any fear of punishment or hope of reward, but lest they seem to occasion sedition and to seek the ear of the people. It will be better if, in explaining some part of the Gospel, or some Epistle of Saint Paul, the preacher propose the kingly virtues: religion, clemency, justice, fortitude, temperance. He will say that it is

the duty of kings to care for their people with paternal love, to look to the well being of the people before his own, to rule men, who bear the image of God on earth, by example as well as authority, and by reward as well as punishment. He must lead his subjects to the true virtues and to the heavenly homeland. To conquer himself in his great power is a heroic virtue which wise men have though necessary for kings.

After he has said these things briefly and clearly, using a certain temperate manner of speaking, the preacher will teach at somewhat greater length that on their part a well instructed people must love their kings and princes, interpret their counsels always in the best light, obey their laws, and be swift to aid them with advice and money to whatever extent it is necessary.

Chapter XXXIX

How the Administrators of Civil Affairs Are to Be Moved

In republics, there are very frequently present among the hearers of the word of God many who administrate the republic. Frequently the manner in which they govern does not exempt them from the suspicion of improbity. Consequently, they may be dealt with much more freely. They are to be moved to the political virtues, but most especially to the love of truth, and to avoid certain improper and malicious blandishments.

In order to win the friendship of all men, even the wicked, the citizens of republic often use lies and false oaths. Consequently, when he speaks to these men, the preacher may well imitate Blessed Chrysostom when he was preaching to the citizens of Antioch and speak often on avoiding swearing. Civil officers are also to be especially persuaded to put the public welfare before their own, for the republic is their common mother, the fosterer of peace, and the conserver of holy religion. God has given men so many and such great benefits, not that they might create wealth for themselves as private citizens, but that they might enjoy liberty and honest leisure. The violent zeal some men have for acquiring wealth should be turned toward protecting their holy religion, for enacting and preserving laws, for fostering justice, and for proposing salutary counsels.

In addressing a sermon to nobles, if these men are accustomed to being magnanimous and ambitious, the preacher is to persuade them to humility. They are to be energetically deterred from falling into the great indecorum of detracting from the glory of their parents. They are to strive especially for humility, for there is no nobility equal to the nobility of Christ.

The commons are to be enkindled to the true nobility which lies in the observance of religion and the virtues. Let the orator teach, however, that the commons are never to consider themselves equal to the nobility, for the latter have sprung from distinguished

parents and often have an abundance of ancient wealth. It seems also to have been given to these men to be the recipients of honors bestowed upon them by others.

Chapter XL

How Masters of Houses Are to Be Moved

To continue, however, the greater part of audiences can be distinguished in that some are masters and some are servants. By the former we more specifically mean the masters of houses. These men will be reminded that they have been established as the masters of homes by the Lord. Theirs is the duty of instructing, exhorting, correcting and consoling their families. They will be required to show themselves exemplars of the virtues of God's universal family. The Lord will demand from them an accounting of this gift. In this connection, the preacher will be able to say very fittingly to those who abuse the power heaven has given them, "Do not be a lion in your own home, upsetting the members and oppressing those who are subject to you. The whole world is as it were one great family of Christ. Christ has prescribed the law of charity, piety and humility. The wrangling, outcries and injurious words which men use when they are enslaved to their own desires and to the lord of this world are detestable. Hear what Blessed Paul wrote to the Ephesians: 'And you, masters, do the same things to them,' as

you would want to be done to you if you were slaves and paupers,

'knowing that the Lord both of them and you is in heaven. . . .'¹³⁶

Explaining these words in an oratorical style, let the Ecclesiastical Orator thus address the people, and the masters of homes: "Brothers, act as if you were the fellow servants of your slaves, for you have a common Lord in heaven; you recognize the same God as Master of heaven and earth; you have found that your Father and theirs is the same; you will even have the same judge on that fearful day of judgment. 'For with the same measure that you shall mete withal, it shall be measured to you again,' taught the common Lord of all."¹³⁷

He can show by these words that servants are not to be burdened with immoderate labors, nor are they to be bought and sold. They must be supplied with the necessities of life, both physical and spiritual. They are not to be taught license by indulgence, by too much familiarity and by gossiping with them as some masters do. In this connection, the preacher will bitterly reprehend the perverse habit of some masters of using their servants as property, and making them their accomplices in crime as the tyrant of some miserable homes do. The servants thus become the corrupters of the master's children. So, masters are to be reproved often lest they maintain

¹³⁶ Ephesians: vi, 9.

¹³⁷ Luke: vi, 38. Cf. Matthew: vii, 2.

a useless multitude of servants of this evil type, for it ruins families. The wealth of these men should be put to the better use of maintaining the servants of Christ, of aiding the poor.

It must be understood, furthermore, that many families have fallen into great misfortune, and have been marked by perpetual infamy for the one reason that they lacked discipline, that the master of the house was in his turn enslaved to his own wrath or cupidity to the extent that the servants really ruled the home. From this evil condition murders, disgraces, adulteries and many other misfortunes have sprung.

Chapter XLI

How to Persuade Servants

Whenever the preacher delivers a sermon to servants, he will explain at length these words of Saint Paul: "Servants, be obedient to them that are your lords according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in the simplicity of your heart, as to Christ: Not serving to the eye, as it were pleasing men . . . knowing that whatsoever good thing any man shall do, the same shall he receive from the Lord, whether he be bond, or free."¹³⁹ Since there are very many who are not servants in the Lord, but who give eye service only,

¹³⁹ Ephesians: vi, 5-6, 8.

and who serve merely to please, these words will necessarily have to be explained often. It is particularly customary in the palaces of princes for servants to act thus. Here, too, servants are to be persuaded to be servants in the Lord, to obey their masters in whatever is consistent with the law of the Lord, or at least not in opposition to it. The preacher is to reprehend those servants, who, in accordance with the customs of this world, fawn upon their masters for the sake of pleasing them. They call good bad, and bad good, and whatever they do they do with an eye to their own advantage, so that they might penetrate the hearts of their masters. Thus, they become rich, attain honors, and, in a word, make themselves the masters. When they seem to flatter their masters the most, these servants in reality hate those whom they serve for their own convenience. They scorn them secretly, and draw down upon them the hatred of other men. The Ecclesiastical Orator will call these faithless servants the ministers of Satan. Indeed, they are rather to be called domestic enemies, the pestilence of civil life. They are deceitful and fickle. Such a subterfuge cannot be kept hidden long, and what is more to the point, the Lord will exact punishment from those who have been unjust and ungrateful toward the masters they ought to have served in Him. They should have expected not so much reward in this world as in the next.

Chapter XLII

How Inhabitants of the Country Are to Be Moved

Since so many of the clergy of the seminaries for whom we write live in the country, let us speak of the principal customs of rural men, and how a sermon should be delivered to them. Many of the people living in the country are envious of those who live in the cities. In such a case as this, it will be useful for the preacher to call to mind the inconveniences of life in the city with the jealousies, calumnies and molestations that are experienced in the administration of urban affairs, and to place before the eyes of their people the pleasures and nobility of agriculture. As Saint Augustine says, it can be believed that Adam practiced this art, not as servile work, but as a righteous pleasure of the soul. Agriculture is as a book in which we can read and contemplate the wisdom and power of God. These divine attributes are plainly perceptible in the sowing of seeds, in planting, pruning and transplanting little trees and in grafting shoots, for neither he who plants nor he who waters is anything. Rather is it God who gives the increase. Moreover, as the preacher will show, everything that happens in the country, abundant harvests, barrenness, drouth, is to be attributed to the providence of God. He will impress upon farmers the justice of God, and the fact that adversity comes because of sin. Those who defraud the Church of its tithe corrupt their own patrimony. God, the most benign Father, is with those who seek

sustenance for themselves and their children by their labor and industry.

Similes taken from fields, from trees, and from agriculture in general have great force in persuading. For example, "As a tree is known by its fruits, so is a man manifested by his works." And "Just as the cockle is bound with the wheat, so is good often mixed with bad. Many bad men exist among the good."

By the words of the prophets, and of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of the holy Apostles, country people must often be moved to fear the sins which threaten eternal life. This is necessary because many of them are habitual liars, or because they rarely observe the feast days as they should, because they take pleasure in murmurings and obscenities, they persist in their own beliefs, they are easily aroused to wrath, or because they steal without compunction. On the other hand, the people of the country seem to be more unhabituated to deceit and fraud and certain other horrible vices. They are more content with their lot, living a pleasant life, and frequenting the Church both oftener and with greater devotion than is the custom in the cities. In order that they may understand that he who wants nothing is truly rich, and he who always desires something more than what he has is ever poor, it is sometimes necessary for the Ecclesiastical Orator to explain to farmers the great and divine benefits they enjoy. It will be very useful for them to form Eucharistic Societies and Societies of the Blessed Virgin,¹³⁸ and

¹³⁸ Usually called Sodalties.

also congregations of charity, as they are called. The members of the societies are to be urged to receive the Most Blessed Sacrament of the Eucharist at least on all the feast days, and, out of a certain paternal love for common instruction, to conduct the young men to church, to correct and punish them as if they were all sons of one Father.

Chapter XLIII

On the Use of Examples

Examples move the hearts of audiences very much indeed.¹⁴⁰

However, these audiences differ greatly among themselves in age and condition. Consequently, the Ecclesiastical Orator will find it useful to use examples not only of holy men but of holy women as well. In this matter, the greatest abundance of examples has been furnished by Aloysius Lipomann, a former Bishop of Verona and a man outstanding for his learning and piety.

Let us say, for example, that a sermon is to be delivered on scorning death. Examples of martyrs such as Stephen, Lawrence and many others who met death eagerly, should be brought into the discourse. The words of the Deacon [who led Pope Saint Sixtus to

¹⁴⁰

Of the two kinds of examples named by Aristotle, Rhetoric, pp. 147-149, Valiero uses only the historical. Quintilian, XII, iv, 1, agrees with Aristotle in recommending the use of the fictional example as well.

martyrdom,¹⁴¹] may well be repeated: "Where do you hasten, Father, without your son?" Blessed Gregory Nazianzen wrote these very distinguished words of the mother of the Machabees into a certain sermon:

Well done, my sons, vigorous soldiers; well done, you who, though in the body are well nigh incorporeal; well done, defenders of the law, and of my white old age, and of the city which nourished you and lifted you up to this greatness of virtue. A little more and we conquer. The executioners delay; I fear this one thing greatly. A little more and I shall be blessed among women, and you shall be blessed among youths. But perhaps the wish of your mother causes you pain. I shall by no means desert you; I do not hate my children so much.

And a little later, Gregory makes the mother of the martyrs speak and give thanks to God that her children would be adorned with martyrdom. These words cannot be repeated without tears.

If his hearers are to be persuaded to forgive injuries, the preacher can use the example of Saint Stephen who prayed for those who were stoning him. He imitated the Teacher Who spoke no evil while He was being crucified, but Who rather prayed that His Father would forgive His executioners because they knew not what they did.¹⁴²

If it is necessary to persuade priests to liberality, examples can be brought forth of Saint Nicholas the Bishop and of John of Alexandria who is called the Almsgiver.

But it is extremely persuasive, as we have said in another

¹⁴¹ So identified by Dinouart, col. 1066.

¹⁴² Luke: xxiii, 34.

place, to use examples drawn locally from the cities or other places where the sermon is given.¹⁴³ For instance, the constancy of soul of Saint Ambrose of Milan, his vigor in discharging his duties, his temperance, and his other virtues can be set forth. So also can the virtues of other bishops noted for sanctity in other cities. In giving examples, however, care must be taken not to recall often the sins and errors of holy men, such as the adultery and homicide of David, or the incontinence of Solomon, lest our audiences take from this the occasion for license, for hearers are taught thereby to make excuses for their sins, and to think that they can sin with impunity to themselves. Yet the sins of holy men can be used, rarely, for showing human frailty, and for exciting hope in the souls of men overwhelmed by the knowledge of their sinfulness.

Next, since the maxim is useful in Ecclesiastical Rhetoric, let us say what the maxim is, to what advantage it may be used to set off an oration, and where it is to be bound.

Chapter XLIV

On the Use of Maxims

A maxim is discourse saying something on a universal matter which is to be hoped for or avoided.¹⁴⁴ For example: "It is good

¹⁴³ Supra, p. 82.

¹⁴⁴ Aristotle, Rhetoric, p. 150.

to live virtuously," and "It is bad for mortals to preserve an undying wrath."¹⁴⁵ However, the maxim is two-fold. One kind is called the simple and the other has a reason adjoined. This reason is either implicit or explicit. If the reason is explicit, the maxim is called by its proper name, the part of an enthymeme; if implicit, an enthymematic maxim. This is the way Aristotle describes them.¹⁴⁶ Here is an example of a simple maxim: "The Christian religion is good." Part of an enthymeme is: "Rejoice not at the death of thy enemy,"^{146x} because he might have been converted to the Lord." The reason one is not to rejoice is that the enemy, having been made better, might have been able to serve God. Moreover, very many of the maxims in the book of Ecclesiasticus can be called part of an enthymeme. The verse, "Do not say 'I have sinned and what has befallen me,'" subjoins a reason, "for the Most High is a patient repayer."^{146xx} The reason is thus explained: since no one ought to hope that he can escape the justice of God, he, therefore, ought not to sin. This is an enthymematic maxim: "Contend not with a rich man. . . ."^{146xxx} It means that when a wealthy man is provoked, he sues and disrupts his neighbor's well being. Therefore do not contend with a rich man.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 151.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 156.

^{146x} Ecclesiasticus: viii, 8.

^{146xx} Ecclesiasticus: v, 4.

^{146xxx} Ecclesiasticus, viii, 1.

Sacred writings abound in maxims. However, they are to be used in their place and not forced upon the listener so that he suspects ostentation in the speaker and is aroused to disgust by the abundance. This often happens in exactly the same way that too many delicate and overly rich foods bring satiety even to sound bodies. Rather use and explain some maxims and save others which do not seem to pertain to the matter at hand for use at another time.

Very distinguished maxims are to be found in the book of Proverbs, and in the Ecclesiastes of Solomon, in the book of Wisdom and in Ecclesiasticus. The Psalms of David also contain a great abundance of maxims. However, none are more weighty, and none have a greater persuasive force than those which our Lord Jesus Christ used. These are always to be set forth to the people with great veneration and with some preface. From among the many maxims, however, which are contained in the holy books, these must be selected and treated:

"heed thyself," "remember your last end," "do not seek to learn what is beyond your understanding," "fear God, and keep his commandments: for this is all man."¹⁴⁷ From among those used by our Lord Jesus Christ, these are most often treated: "You cannot serve God and Mammon."¹⁴⁸ "He that loveth his life shall lose it . . ."¹⁴⁹ "If

¹⁴⁷ Ecclesiastes: xii, 13.

¹⁴⁸ Matthew: vi, 24; Luke: xvi, 13.

¹⁴⁹ John: xii, 25.

anyone love me, he will keep my word" ¹⁵⁰ "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me." ¹⁵¹ With good judgment, the use and treatment of these maxims can be adapted to almost all sermons with great benefit to the listeners.

Aristotle, whom I have mentioned, writes that it is a characteristic of the aged to produce maxims. ¹⁵² While this is true, it will be fitting for priests to deliver them, for although they are not necessarily old, there is about them an age of the mind and a gravity of morals. However, let me warn the clergy not to scorn the precept of that most eminent philosopher. ¹⁵³ It is neither difficult nor profitable to string together a large number of maxims. Rather should the preachers put more abundant practice into the things they have outlined for themselves to say.

Chapter XLV

On the Use of the Enthymeme

Now that we have spoken of the use of examples and maxims,

¹⁵⁰ John: xiv, 23.

¹⁵¹ Matthew: xvi, 24.

¹⁵² Rhetoric, p. 152.

¹⁵³ Aristotle says that the uttering of maxims is unbecoming in young men. Ibid.

we must next speak briefly¹⁵⁴ of the use of the enthymeme.

Enthymemes are constructed from true propositions, as we have said in another place,¹⁵⁵ and from signs. These signs are not to be things we have sought for at great length among obscurities, but are to be from things near at hand, and evident, so that they may be the more easily impressed upon the minds of the untutored. It is easy to see that the holy Fathers have done just this. Yet, although some are used for proving and some for refuting, they are taken from the same places. In Catholic countries, however, enthymemes are used much more frequently for proving than for refuting.

Nevertheless, certain perverse beliefs of the crowd must be refuted.

These are such errors as "pleasure is the greatest good," "the rich are happy," "pleasures are to be indulged in," "death is the greatest evil," "dissembling really conceals," "spectacles and all forms of amusements are to be sought," and the like. When the preacher is anxious to eradicate some evil belief that has crept into the thinking of his hearers, he will easily find an abundant supply of these for argument. These may be drawn from sacred writings, from traditions, from the authority of the Church and of the Holy Father and from other places of which we have spoken.¹⁵⁶ The

¹⁵⁴ Valiero gives only the barest outline of the material discussed at some length by Aristotle in the Rhetoric, pp. 154-181.

¹⁵⁵ Supra, I, xxiv.

¹⁵⁶ I, xlii-xlix.

Ecclesiastical Orator will also find the commonplaces to be a source of argument. Of the ones we have treated, those from definition, from antecedents, from consequences and from causes are particularly effective.

To this point, then, we have spoken of the material of the Ecclesiastical Orator, of the various proofs and of the method of persuading souls. Now let us proceed to the third part of this work which will be concerned with Ecclesiastical Elocution. First of all, we warn the clergy that in delivering a sermon to the people they must not rashly undertake disputations against heretics, nor recount the arguments of these men, lest they fall heavily under the suspicion of vanity, and inject scruples into the minds of the artless. Let them say in general that heretics are miserable, for, having fled the battle line of Christ, they have gone over to the camp of Satan. No one who does not wish to have the Church as a Mother can have God as a Father. The Reformation is wicked, for well founded antiquity is not to be overthrown. The Church, established by the blood of martyrs and preserved by the watchfulness of the most learned and holy men, is to be followed. The teachings of that Holy Church, confirmed by the Holy Councils and by the uncorrupt decisions of so many centuries, are to be held to. Heretics are deserters, the disciples of Satan, disturbers of the peace, enemies of God, corrupters of morals, teachers of sedition and the subverters of republics. They are the

pernicious authors of seditious liberty, or, more correctly, license. It is not even necessary to recall the names of heretics in a meeting of Catholic men. On the contrary, I would call it more useful to reject by silence their pernicious opinions, which the most learned men refuted and exploded so many centuries ago. Our most precious time is much better spent in explaining the divine law, in giving thanks, in exhortation to penance and to pursuit of eternal life.

ON ECCLESIASTICAL RHETORIC FOR THE CLERGY

Book III

Chapter I

The Principal Constituents of Ecclesiastical Rhetoric

Let us repeat the definition of Ecclesiastical Rhetoric which we gave at the beginning of this work, so we can see what remains to be treated. We have called it the art of speaking suitably concerning things which pertain to the glory of God and the salvation of souls. This is done by proving, by moving, and by winning over. The speaker's object is persuasion. [In Book I,] we explained the things that pertain to the honor of God and the salvation of souls, and, likewise, that these things are comprehended under three headings, [deliberative, demonstrative and judicial]. Moreover, [in Book II] we have explained the methods of proof, and the sources from which arguments are drawn for teaching and for moving. So now we must speak of Ecclesiastical Elocution, which we may refer to as the form of Ecclesiastical Eloquence, whose precepts we teach.

The art of Ecclesiastical Rhetoric has the use of proofs in common with dialectic,¹ with philosophy and with theology.² It is the property of Ecclesiastical Eloquence to speak fittingly to the

¹ Ramus would object vigorously to this point of view.

² See Aristotle, p. 5.

people. Indeed, this is the function of the ecclesiastical oration. It is with respect to this quality [of eloquence] that one orator surpasses another. Whoever is endowed with Ecclesiastical Eloquence will be able to speak fittingly,³ that is, faultlessly, clearly, suitably, from memory⁴ and with dignity. However, he must first offer prayers to God and invoke the Holy Spirit Who makes fluent the tongues of infants and fills the mouth of the speaker. In these things Ecclesiastical Eloquence is constituted.

Chapter II

To Know More Easily Who May Speak Fittingly in Church, It Is Useful to Know What Inept Speaking Is

Learned men have observed that speakers sometimes fall into absurdities in their speaking. We want to mention certain ones of these faults here, not in the effort to display any wisdom of our own, but merely to impress upon the clergy for whom we write the rules of Ecclesiastical Eloquence. Whoever rises to speak rashly, and without having implored divine aid, is to be judged not only inept, but foolish and impudent as well. Moreover, we may properly call inept those speakers who have no reckoning of the time, the place, of their

³ Augustine, IV, xv, 32.

⁴ Valiero has very little to say of memory. His treatment of this fourth canon is found in III, lix, p. 269.

own part, or of the audiences to whom they speak. Among their number are the preachers who try to amuse their hearers with long fables or even with nonsense on such very holy days as Christmas and Easter. There are those who bore their hearers with their long sermons and frequent digressions. They act as if they were going to die the next day, and want to recount everything they have ever read in one sermon so that they might be considered very learned men.⁵ Others bring out the long since refuted opinions of the philosophers on fate,⁶ against the providence of God, on seeking pleasure, only that they might refute them. All this is very unnecessary. Sometimes they attempt to give the appearance of terseness by using numerous arguments and short maxims as if they were disputing with learned men. Thus, when they try to be brief, they are instead obscure. But what is even more intolerable, when they do recall the ancient and exploded heresies, in their effort to avoid what is familiar and unnecessary, they say things that are unfruitful and even pernicious. Our advice to the clergy is to follow the precept of Saint Francis, the bitter enemy of ostentation. He taught the preachers of his Order to set forth for their listeners the virtues and the vices, glory and punishment with brevity of

⁵ Valiero's complete disgust at any kind of ostentation makes his humor pointed, and a little grim.

⁶ Saint Augustine had already answered Cicero on fate, De Civitate Dei, V, viii-x, so why refurbish Cicero for the Sunday sermon?

speech.⁷ Would that these words were imprinted not only upon the souls of the clergy, but upon all those who are versed in this most noble art [of preaching].

Chapter III

How a Sermon is Made Frigid

In an oration, frigidity,⁸ the daughter of ineptitude, is to be avoided by the clergy. This fault occurs in an oration when the speaker tries to coin words, and to confuse and confound an oration with a variety of figures.⁹ This usually happens when men try to showoff their knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew tongues. In trying to explain the same idea with three terms where one would do, they get no more than they deserve, for their sermon becomes frigid. Superfluous adjective, speaking, for example, of benign clemency

⁷ Pascal Robinson, O.F.M., The Writings of Saint Francis of Assisi (Philadelphia: The Dolphin Press, 1906), p. 71, translates what Saint Francis has to say to his Preachers in the 1223 text of the second Rule of the Friars Minor: "The brothers must not preach in the diocese of any bishop when their doing so may be opposed by him. And let no one of the brothers dare to preach in any way to the people, unless he has been examined and approved by the minister general of this brotherhood, and the office of preaching conceded to him by the latter. I also warn and exhort the same brothers that in the preaching they do their words be fire-tried and pure for the utility and edification of the people, announcing to them vices and virtues, punishment and glory, with brevity of speech because the Lord made His word short upon earth."

⁸ Aristotle, pp. 190-192.

⁹ Quintilian, IX, iii, 100.

or prudent shrewdness, have the same effect. The man who never mentioned Saint Paul without saying "of Tarsus," nor David without adding "most serene," let his oration grow frigid, for we have been so fashioned by nature that superfluities annoy us. In speaking of the senses of the soul, for instance, explain them so that they may be easily understood. Use the oration for what it was intended, an instrument given to us from heaven for instructing others.

Now, since the weak and virtually lifeless action of some speakers makes their orations frigid and bloodless, let us say something on delivery.

Chapter IV

On Action: He Who Lacks It Can Scarcely Be Suited for Speaking.

The power of action is great, for there can be found speakers without learning, even without a good vocabulary who by action alone have achieved greater praise in speaking than the most learned men abounding in a great supply of words. Wherefore that most illustrious orator [Demosthenes], asked what he considered of first, second and third place importance in the orator, is reputed to have replied, "Delivery."¹⁰ Delivery consists in voice and gesture, and is achieved

¹⁰ An ancient tale, often told. By Cicero in Orator, xvii, 56; in Brutus, xxxvii, 142; in De Oratore, III, lvi, 213. By Quintilian, XI, iii, 6.

by moderating the voice so that it is not inconsistent with the oration. For one kind of voice, indeed, [one that is] sharp and swift, is required for describing the jealousy of God. Another, obviously humbled and lowered, is used for restoring the soul terrified by fear and the consciousness of sin. Filled with holy joy, the preacher uses a voice somewhat soft and abated. Again, moved by sorrow, he expresses the proper emotion with a somewhat strong and heavy tone.¹¹ The eyes are said to be the chief thing in delivery.¹² Their emotions are expressed by protrusion and retraction, by rolling and by gaiety. Thus it was that a very learned man called action a "sermon of the body,"¹³ using the same analogy as he who called a picture silent poetry and poetry a speaking picture.

Care must be taken not to change the shape of the mouth, for when those who do this try their hardest to move their audiences, they move them only to laughter.¹⁴ The outthrust arm is the spear of the

¹¹ There is a close resemblance here with the anonymous tractate translated by Harry Caplan, "A Late Medieval Tractate on Preaching," Studies in Rhetoric and Public Speaking in Honor of James Albert Winans (New York: The Century Co., 1925), pp. 73-74. I am not suggesting this tractate as Valiero's source, but I do propose some probably extensive similarity in the treatment of voice and gesture in many of the tractates. Little enough, certainly, is said about this fifth canon in proportion to the importance allotted to invention, disposition and elocution.

¹² De Oratore, III, lix, 221-223.

¹³ Ibid., 223.

¹⁴ Quintilian, VI, iii, 29.

oration¹⁵ upon which souls are sometimes impaled. Stamping the foot sometimes has much force when great matters are being discussed.¹⁶ All these things are, as it were, the bait with which souls are captured. Even though the Christian should not be too zealous for them, we mention them nevertheless as a tacit warning to the clergy not to use the same voice all the time but to adapt his voice and gestures to the matters he treats. He should not make his oration frigid by unrestrained shouting and long apostrophes, nor bore and annoy his audience with perpetual movement as some speakers do. In this matter we judge it useful for them, when they first begin to make practice speeches, to have someone to correct them, and train them in this particular aspect of the sermon, for those who try to learn the art of speaking without a teacher and moderator very often wind up as frigid, unforceful orators. Indeed many are formed by nature so distorted of face, so coarse of voice and so impeded of tongue that they seem utterly inept for speaking. History testifies that some of these men [like Demosthenes] overcame impediments of nature and other faults as well. We advise them, however, not to take up the office of speaking unless they have been forced into it by strong obligation. If they do speak, the more they need the aids

¹⁵ De Oratore, III, lix, 221.

¹⁶ Ibid.

necessary for preaching well, the more fervently should they seek from God, the giver of eloquence and all goods, His aid for their infirmity. They should ask that He impart to them His Holy Spirit, that they might speak with benefit to their hearers.

Chapter V

Without the Aid of God, No One Can Speak Properly of God

From what has been said, it may be seen that the first step in elocution, and in all Ecclesiastical Eloquence, lies in imploring divine aid.¹⁷ For who dares to speak of God without God? Who will treat of divine things without divine assistance? Therefore, the Ecclesiastical Orator will never dare rise to speak without meditation, and without having addressed prayers to God. Otherwise, deprived of divine aid, he may sometime disgrace this most eminent office.¹⁸ I would also warn the preacher not to take up this

¹⁷ De Doctrina Christiana, IV, xv, 32. This, like the necessity for good morals in the preacher, is a concept that carries all the way through the history of Christian homiletics. See Marsee Fred Evans, A Study in the Development of a Theory of Homiletics in England from 1534 to 1692, Unpublished Dissertation, State University of Iowa, 1932, I, passim, and Caplan, "A Late Medieval Tractate on Preaching," pp. 75 and 89.

¹⁸ Valiero quotes Saint Francis, supra, p. 180. Doubtless he was aware also that Francis believed in meditation before preaching. Before he was to deliver a sermon, St. Francis would often spend most of the night in prayer and meditation. As a result, his sermons were so well thought out that they became models of brevity and clarity. For a description of Saint Francis' preparation and delivery, see Fr. Cuthbert, O.S.F.C., Life of St. Francis of Assisi (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1913), pp. 113-119.

angelic office unless he has received the most holy Sacrament of the Eucharist and been renewed by the Bread of Heaven. I would advise him also to pray God to open the door of the sermon for him when he speaks of the mysteries of Christ, because unless it is opened, his sermon will be unfruitful.

Study is to be joined to prayer, diligence is to be added along with the assiduous reading of holy books. Without this, it often happens that those who take upon themselves this most noble office of preaching fall into serious errors and confusions. Moreover, the preacher should make use of the counsel of learned men, when he can, so that he might say the things that should be said, and reserve others for a more suitable time.

Chapter VI

What It Is to Speak Faultlessly

The fundamental rule of elocution is to speak faultlessly, not to offend the ears of the audience with solecisms and barbarisms.¹⁹ Of course, these speech faults are nothing in themselves except that they sometimes arouse laughter and diminish the reputation of the office. Therefore, it is necessary for the preacher to speak

¹⁹ This is more Ciceronian than Christian. Valiero betrays his Renaissance background. Augustine says that it is better to use a vulgar term at the expense of polish if it adds to clarity. De Doctrina Christiana, IV, x, 24.

faultlessly. In practicing his own native language, he must change and correct certain annoying sounds. Let him take care lest, forgetful of his own native tongue,²⁰ he put too much study into foreign languages so that sounds and accents are changed, for in this case, his speech sounds affected. I myself have known men who never changed the sounds they learned from the cradle and have won great reputations as speakers.

The principle and source of speaking rightly is knowledge.²¹ It is abundance of material that produces fluency. Nothing is more unfruitful than an empty rattling of words, especially when the glory of God and the salvation of souls are under consideration.²² The clergy, therefore, must beware of insufficient diligence in speaking, lest they fall under the suspicion of vanity, and lest, while they zealously pursue elegance in a sermon, they become obscure, for Saint Augustine says most eminently: "I would rather have the grammarians scorn me than for the people not to understand; choosing to be understood more in barbarisms, while the grammarians damn me, than to desert my hearers in my eloquence."

²⁰ Valiero himself is said to have spoken Italian only with difficulty.

²¹ Aristotle, p. 156; Quintilian, II, xxi, 14 ff; De Oratore, I, vi, 20.

²² De Doctrina Christiana, IV, v, 7. Cf also II Timothy: ii, 14.

Chapter VII

On the Clarity of the Ecclesiastical Oration

The strength of the oration lies in speaking clearly, for unless the Orator speaks so that he is understood by his hearers, without doubt he will never be able to persuade them to anything. Clarity, however, consists in the proper signification of names and words.²³ To the greater extent, therefore, that the Ecclesiastical Orator uses words in their literal meanings, the more will he escape the suspicion of ostentation. Those words are called literal which have been accepted in common usage in speaking,²⁴ and signify a thing, such as teacher, philosopher, theologian, censure, speak, praise. However, literal words are not to be used when the things spoken of cannot be heard without shame or horror.²⁵ Certain parts of the body are not to be named literally,²⁶ but with the use of circumlocution. The names of abominable sins are to be suppressed and very rarely mentioned.²⁷

²³ Aristotle, p. 185; Quintilian, VIII, ii, 1.

²⁴ Ibid. See also De Oratore, III, xxxvii, 149, and Quintilian, I, v, 71.

²⁵ There is a similar notion in Quintilian, VIII, ii, 1.

²⁶ Cf. Caplan, "A Late Medieval Tractate on Preaching," pp. 87-88.

²⁷ Ibid.

Chapter VII

The Ecclesiastical Orator Should Sometimes Use Figurative Language
for Making Words More Expressive

Words used figuratively are those which are transferred through the use of simile from their own significance to a significance which is not their own,²⁸ for example, when [as Plato says] sophists are called hunters of youth (particularly those with wealth). Sometimes grace is called the fountain of life, and charity the soul of virtue. Since the Ecclesiastical Orator holds the glory of God and the salvation of souls so close to heart, he will use figurative language only to the extent that it is helpful in impressing his real meaning upon the minds of his hearers. To move them to gentleness, he will call Christ the Lamb without stain. He may refer to the martyrs as athletes to set before their eyes the victories of the martyrs and to urge the people on in their own struggles against inner enemies. He will call Christians soldiers to move them to a lesser dread of death. The sermon can be called the key of heaven, and charity the fire of the soul. However, many cautions are to be taken by the preacher in the use of figurative language. First, his meanings are not to be taken from remote things,²⁹ as if one were to say rashly

²⁸ De Oratore, III, 37, 149; Quintilian, I, v, 72; Aristotle, p. 185.

²⁹ In contradistinction to Aristotle, p. 185.

that Christ is most serene, because He is a King and kings are called by that name. Next, they are not to originate in anything foul, as if one were to call God the Father the executioner of Christ. Indeed, He did appoint that on account of the sins of men, Christ would die, that by His death divine justice would be satisfied and the gates of Heaven opened to the faithful, but He ought not on that account be called an executioner. To put it briefly, the oration will be illuminated by easy figures selected from suitable things with the use of good judgment, which wise men have called the sap of prudence.

The books of the most holy Fathers of the Church abound in these figures. This is especially true of the Greek Fathers who excelled marvelously in devising metaphors and similes. The metaphor differs from the simile in that the metaphor is shorter and expresses the same thought without the use of a conjunction. For example, "The Devil is a lion," is a metaphor, while "as a roaring lion," is a simile. But the clergy must take care not to make their orations frigid by too frequent use of figurative language. Used as a food rather than a condiment, it produces satiety, or rather nausea. Prudent men have observed this to have happened to several in our own time.³⁰

³⁰ That the stylistic vanities of Renaissance literary form did not lack contemporary critics is well known. See, for example, Izora Scott, Controversies over the Imitation of Cicero, New York: Teachers' College, Columbia University, 1910.

Chapter IX

On Words with the Same Endings and on Diminutives

Words with the same endings sometimes make an oration pleasant, but rarely are they to be used by the clergy lest they fall under the suspicion of affectation. A beautiful example of this figure is to be found in the works of Blessed Bernard: "The world cries, I will desert; the flesh cries, I will defile; the Devil cries, I will deceive; Christ cries, I will restore."³¹ There is some power also in diminutives, used sometimes for augmenting an oration, and sometimes for diminishing it. For example, "Why is it that we make so much of our little literary learning that we feel we should be placed ahead of others?" And "Why are we little men indignant?"

Homonyms, equivocal terms, are for sophists,³² and are to be shunned by the Christian Orator, for ambiguity is the mother of obscurity and errors. Synonyms, words signifying the same things, are for poets.³³ Many who have sought to be called eloquent through the abundant use of synonyms, and who have sought by that

³¹ "Mundus clamat, deficiam; caro clamat, inficiam; daemon clamat, decipiam, Christus clamat, reficiam." It is impossible, of course, for the English to carry more than an incomplete feeling of the repetitive effect.

³² Aristotle, p. 187.

³³ Ibid.

method to penetrate the ears of the crowd, are certainly not to be praised for it. Archaic words, even if they make an oration all the more admirable, are still scarcely to be used, lest their use diminish the repute of the speaker.³⁴

Chapter X

On Metonymy and Senecdoche

Ecclesiastical Orators may use metonymy, wherein that which contains is posited for that which is contained therein, as if we were to say heaven when we mean those dwelling in heaven, and world when we mean the people of the earth. Here is a distinguished example taken from the Prophet: "O earth, earth, earth, hear the word of the Lord."³⁵

The preacher sometimes uses senecdoche also, wherein a matter is designated by what happens to things, as in this example from Isaias: ". . . and they shall turn their swords into plowshares, and their spears into sickles . . ."³⁶ for this is a consequence of the peace.³⁷ Very many other kinds of tropes and figures

³⁴ Quintilian, VIII, ii, 12. Cicero, on the other hand, permits their use, but only rarely. De Oratore, III, xxxviii, 153, and lii, 201.

³⁵ Jeremias: xxii, 29.

³⁶ Isaias: ii, 4.

³⁷ On these figures, Quintilian is much more lucid, VIII, vi, 23 and 19.

have customarily been used by orators for brightening and setting off a speech. We shall omit reference to these because they belong properly to the sphere of the Grammarian.³⁸ Moreover, since we are writing in Latin, it would not be easy to set forth the figures and ornaments in the vernacular.³⁹ Instead, I will merely advise the reader of this book not to scorn the art of the Grammarian, for it is very useful, even necessary to the orator. Let him recall for his use the precepts he learned in his youth. Use grammar as a servant. Study the good Grammarians for methods of expressing the senses of the soul. Style, which is the best artificer and teacher of speech, is developed by imitation and exercise.⁴⁰ I consider it tedious and superfluous also to treat of the mechanics of meter. The messenger of Christ, the interpreter of the divine will, ought not to be occupied with minutiae. The judgment of the ears must be considered important in the matter of sound and rhythm. They must not always be struck with the same sound,⁴¹ nor must the orator fill his speech too full of rhythm lest he seem to sing songs rather than speak to the people. Of such speakers it may be said: "If you are speaking, you are singing; if you are singing, you are singing badly."

³⁸ Here again Ramus would object.

³⁹ It becomes increasingly clear that this is true of English as well.

⁴⁰ Valiero will have more to say about imitation here in Book III.

⁴¹ It is fairly easy to fall into this fault in both Latin and Italian.

Chapter XI

On Figures, or the Forms of Thought

There are two kinds of figures or forms; namely, figures of language and figures of thought. Moreover, we have spoken of the figures of language as fully as the subject matter seemed to require, so now it remains for us to say a word on the figures of thought.⁴² In these figures is constituted a great part of Ecclesiastical Eloquence, indeed the very method of speaking suitably. This seems so much the less strange since they are common to the bases of all languages. Now one speaks suitably when for teaching he uses a fine and subtle kind of speaking, for praising, and equable and temperate mode, and for moving and dissuading, a style that is vehement and inflamed.⁴³ To teach those things that are to be believed, hoped, feared, avoided and done, one will have to be thought to speak suitably. First, he must propose his thesis. Then he will explain by definition the topic that he has set forth. He will use divisions and distinctions, and sometimes he will submit a brief

⁴² Because of a lack of agreement on the name and number of both figures of thought and figures of language, it is virtually impossible to specify minutely the source in Valiero's mention of some of the figures. However, it is quite evident that his source is primarily Cicero, De Oratore, III, lili, 202 - liv, 208, and Orator, xxxix, 134-xi, 139.

⁴³ Cicero, Orator, xxix, 100; Augustine, IV, xvii, 34. This is the first complete mention of Cicero's three styles of speaking. There have been earlier scattered hints.

reason. Then he will return to the thesis to state and illustrate the matter by example and simile. Sometimes, he will digress briefly, and then indicate that he has returned to the point where the oration turned aside. In concluding, he will sometimes use single arguments, and sometimes, when he has treated many points, he will recapitulate his points with smooth transitions. Clauses and stops should be frequent.

In praising the Christian virtues, such as faith, hope, charity, virginity, martyrdom, and the like, and in vituperating their contraries, the orator will speak suitably if he makes use of the majesty, splendor, and gravity of the figures of thought and of the various ornaments of words which afford beauty and charm. The oration itself should be an image of the ideas he has undertaken to embellish. Let him represent and portray these things so that they are clearly explained, and so that the subject matter is brought to mind almost as if it were in plain view. Let him imitate the customs and use clear figures. For the sake of augmenting and diminishing, the speaker should also use hyperbole. He will give animation to some things which lack life. Often he will collect and join together many ideas under one head. He will unite those things which pertain to a matter with the matter itself. When the topic allows, he will introduce antithesis, and sometimes periphrasis and paronomasia. To avoid being too blunt, he will sometimes set off the oration with many

different figures of thought. He will use interrogatio, percontatio, aversio, dubitatio, correctio and praeteritio.⁴⁴ Then he will use those things which add pleasantry and charm to an oration,⁴⁵ such as asyndeton and reiteration. Let him use a word slightly changed and altered, repetition of the same word, conversion, climax, amplifications, digressions, and descriptions of persons and things.

The speaker's words should be carefully selected, pleasant, lofty and sonorous. His pleasure should lie in an abundant supply of both literal and figurative meanings, for, to speak fittingly, it is necessary for one who has undertaken to persuade minds and to move souls to consider their own salvation, to affect his hearers in wonderful and various fashions. Let him play the part of warning, urging, raging, accusing, rebuking and complaining. Let him point out the vices and sins of men, excusing and justifying those who seem to be

⁴⁴ Valiero seems to consider these as figures of thought. In Cicero, De Oratore, III, liv, 206, they are figures of speech. In The Institute Oratoria of Quintilian, with an English Translation (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1920-22), III, p. 366, n. 1, H. E. Butler says of Cicero's catalogue of figures, quoted by Quintilian, "The long list of technical terms . . . provides almost insuperable difficulty to the translator, since many can neither be translated nor paraphrased with certainty. Quintilian himself is not often certain as to their meaning: see IX, iii, 90." I have preferred to leave many of the names of the figures in Latin and give Cicero's definition of the figure in the chapters below where Valiero treats each of the figures in somewhat greater detail.

⁴⁵ Cicero's "ornaments of style." Orator xxxix, 135.

grieved over them. Let him praise, promise, deprecate and pray. Let him reproach wicked men for their crimes, tremble, command, thunder, revile the impious, lament, threaten, terrify, and show that there is almost need for despair. Let him promise all things in the presence of his hearers, and having deplored matters as it were, marvel at them and call others to witness. However, let him hope and rejoice in the good, console them, delight in them, strengthen them, and propose them to others as worthy of imitation. Let him speak out with a bold voice, exclaim, wish, play a part. Let him share with his hearers, and ask what they pursue, what they urge. Let him dissimulate, and conceal his own feelings. It would be long and perhaps superfluous rather than difficult to describe each of the figures or forms of thought. Since they can be learned by use and example better than by rules and descriptions, in order that their nature may be more easily perceived, and so that individual ones may be recalled by the clergy for more free use when the occasion arises, we shall propose one, two, or at most three examples of each, and among these some adapted to the present times.

Chapter XII

Example of a Proposition⁴⁷

Saint John Chrysostom, whom we have rightly called the

⁴⁷ "[The speaker] will announce what he is about to discuss ..."
Orator, xl, 137.

golden river of Christian eloquence, used a proposition thus in teaching the necessity for prayer:

Everyone knows that prayer is the source of any good whatsoever, and that it affords us both salvation and eternal life. Even so, it is necessary for us to speak on this topic for the benefit of men, so that those who are accustomed to live in prayer and in the worship of God may use more vehement diligence and greater assiduousness in this matter, and so that those who have lived slothfully and sluggishly and have permitted their souls to be separated from the help of prayer may understand the damage of the time gone by and in the time left to them not act so as to deprive themselves of salvation.

Chapter XIII

An Example of Division⁴⁸

Saint Gregory Nazianzen, whom we have called the Christian Demosthenes, used division thus in showing the difficulty of the office of bishop:

It is difficult to devise an oration of this kind which can win over and illuminate everyone with the light of wisdom, for the reason that there is danger in three things, the mind, the speech and the hearing. We must strike at one of these three things if not all of them, for either the mind is dark to supernal light, or the speech lags, or, finally, the doctrine is not communicated because it is not purified. If any one of these three things happens, no less than if all three were to occur, truth will necessarily suffer.

Chapter XIV

An Example of Distinction

Saint Ambrose, teaching that Christ must be followed, used

⁴⁸"[The speaker] will divide the subject into parts . . ." Ibid.

this distinction: "If you wish to care for a wound, He is a physician. If you are burning with fever, He is a fountain. If you are burdened with iniquity, He is justice. If you need aid, He is strength. If you fear death, He is life. If you seek food, He is nourishment." We shall speak a little later⁴⁹ of how the Ecclesiastical Orator ought to state his theses, and of what sort they should be, but it is easy to see now that division and distinction are not only figures of thought but instruments of disposition as well.

Chapter XV

How the Ecclesiastical Orator Can Add a Reason to the Proposition,⁵⁰ and Return to the Point Whence He Digressed.⁵¹

Saint Gregory Nazianzen, in his praise of Hero, tells us that Hero was an athlete even though completely untrained, and adds this reason: "He is an athlete of the truth, completely untrained, and a defender of the Trinity even to the point of shedding his blood; and by the eagerness with which he accepted suffering, he is the conqueror of those who persecuted him for the sake of inflicting injuries, for there is nothing that will destroy the force of a persecutor in the same way as accepting suffering with joy and a ready spirit."

⁴⁹ Infra, I, 1-11.

⁵⁰ De Oratore, III, liv, 207. Cicero lists this as a figure of speech, not of thought.

⁵¹ "[The speaker] will bring himself back to the subject . . ."
Orator, xl, 137.

The Ecclesiastical Orator will frequently be able to use this form: "Do you want to know why you have fallen into various misfortunes? why the children in whom you placed the greatest hope desert you and why those who remain with you bring sadness? why you are afflicted with so many illnesses? why God tests, or rather punishes you with high prices and many other inconveniences? Because you have not kept His commandments; because you are unjust amongst yourselves and toward others."

In his Apologetic, Saint Gregory Nazianzen, whom we mentioned above, explains that it is the duty of priests to be concerned with the reconciliation and salvation of men. Then, as a digression, he gathers all the mysteries of salvation, and the origin, deeds, miracles, passion and resurrection of Christ for the sake of embellishing his oration. Finally, returning to his proposition, he says: "And we are the ministers of His medicine; we are the participants of His work; we all sit in the highest place." At the prescription of the Holy Spirit, the Ecclesiastical Orator may use this form of speaking thus: "Without thinking what I was saying, I have digressed. Let us now return (with benefit, I hope) to the point where I left my topic." Indeed, he can do this with propriety once or twice in an oration.

Chapter XVI

An Example of Conclusion⁵²

In a sermon to the rich, Blessed Basil closed an argument he had expounded by saying: "Why are you waiting for the time when you will not even be of sound mind?" The Ecclesiastical Orator might speak thus: "The conclusion of this and all my sermons, speeches and exhortations will be that you are the people of God, the heirs of Christ, my joy and my crown, and that scornful of human things, forgetful of this exile, you aspire to the heavenly homeland." This form of speaking seems to be susceptible to frequent use, especially in the country.

Chapter XVII

An Example of Transition⁵³ and Repetition⁵⁴

After showing that prayer has the power to expiate sins, Saint Chrysostom used transition in passing one argument to another thus:

⁵² A very definite deviation from Cicero. To Cicero, conclusio meant to arrive at a conclusion through the use of the syllogism, not to end a speech. De Oratore, III, liii, 203; Orator, loc. cit.

⁵³ In his translation of Cicero's Orator, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1939), H. M. Hubbel says, p. 410, n. e., that transitio is the combination of propositio (supra, p. 195, n. 47) and enumeratio (summing up when concluding a topic, Orator, loc. cit.). Valiero, however, uses the term to mean a bridge between one portion of the speech and the next.

⁵⁴ Apparently another figure of speech has crept into Valiero's list of figures of thought. See Orator, xxxix, 135, and De Oratore, III, liv, 206.

"Indeed, prayer not only cleanses sin, but also drives away the gravest perils." Then he proves this by examples, and having explained many points, transfers his oration to the prophecies of Christ: "Let the things which I have now mentioned suffice to show the force and power of holy prayers. Indeed, it is perhaps better for one who assents to Holy Scripture to learn from the prophecies of Christ what riches prayers can win for those who put their whole lives in them."

In treating curiosity, which we call the daughter of idleness, after showing that the curious not only waste most precious time, but also sow discord, the Ecclesiastical Orator may add that they also usually bring hatred upon themselves, and since the curious are so very often habitual defamers, they fall into very many different misfortunes.

Here is an example of repetition: "We are Christians, and yet we reject and flee from the members of Christ; we are Christians, and yet we desert the battle line of Christ; again, we are Christians, as much as we can be, and yet we crucify Christ with our sins." And here is another example of the same figure: "How can we atone for our sins? By almsgiving. How can we practice just usury with God? By almsgiving. What is the glowing gold by which we can be enriched? Almsgiving. Wherefore, let us look to our own salvation through almsgiving, and invite the Lord to have pity on us."

Chapter XVIII

Concerning the Figures Which Are Used in the Temperate Style of
Speaking; and First Concerning Clear Explanation or Vivid
Visualization⁵⁵

[At this point,] I want to give examples of several of the figures which are customarily used in the temperate mode of speaking. There is an outstanding example of clear explanation in the writings of Saint Basil. In arousing fear of the last judgment in the greedy rich, he says:

Are you never to be sober from that drunkenness? Will you not come to your senses, or finally return to yourselves? Do you not put before your eyes the judgment of Christ? What defense will you raise when those whom you have violated with injuries and contumely surround you and accuse you with their cries before the just Judge? What will you do? What advocates will your bribery bring forth? What witnesses will you have? By what charlatanry will you lead into error that Judge Who cannot be deceived? No orator there, no pandering of words that can snatch the truth from this Judge. Flatterers will not follow, nor money, nor the grandeur of dignity. Deserted by friends and assistants, stripped of the opportunity of defense by any advocate, afflicted with disgrace and infamy, you will quickly learn that you are dejected, sad, humbled, destitute, without even the liberty of remaining silent. No matter where you turn your eyes, there will be disclosed to you the picture of your evils; here the tears of orphans, there the groans of widows, elsewhere paupers beaten by your fists, servants ruined, neighbors enraged and aroused to wrath. All these things will press in upon you, and the sad multitude of your crimes and evil deeds will surround you.

⁵⁵ ". . . often by his statement of the case [the speaker] will make the scene live before our eyes." Orator, xl, 139.

Saint Ambrose writes thus of Saint Thecla the virgin:

You would have seen the beast licking her feet, lying on the ground manifesting by his silence that he could not violate the holy body of the virgin. Therefore, the beast respected his prey, and, forgetful of his own nature, took on the nature which men had lost. You would see that by a certain transformation of nature men are clothed with ferocity;⁵⁶ the savagery of the beast rules. The beast, kissing the feet of the virgin, teaches what men ought to do. Virginity is so admirable that even lions marvel at it. Food did not move those that were hungry. Force did not seize those that were hurried. Wrath did not provoke those that were goaded. Habit did not overcome those that were accustomed to be savage. Nature did not possess those that were by nature fierce. They taught religion while they paid reverence to the martyr. They also taught chastity while they did nothing more to the virgin than kiss her feet. With eyes cast upon the ground as if ashamed, not even some male beast would look upon the unclothed virgin.

This figure of thought is to be used especially frequently in the demonstrative mode when teaching something. Thus the Ecclesiastical Orator will be able to visualize the misfortune of the Christian republic when he teaches that love of this world is to be avoided. "Consider, brothers, contemplate the picture of the world. A greater part is oppressed by the wicked tyranny of Mohammed. Among those who deny that Christ is God, how many monsters of fancy, how many monstrosities of heresy there are; what various and pernicious errors have stained the minds of many. Yet, we who follow Holy Mother Church, and do not err in faith, do not prove our faith with works. Strong faith, strong modesty, strong sincerity are not to be found among us."

⁵⁶ See Isocrates, Antidosis, 214.

Chapter XIX

How Exposition of a Tragic Matter Is Made

It is also the function of clear exposition to set forth tragically something that is lamentable and disagreeable to arouse pity and fear.⁵⁷ There is an example of this sort in Blessed Basil in his oration on the martyr Gordius:

There was tumult in the whole city, and a very great disturbance in all things. Booty was being taken, the bodies of men who loved Christ were being maimed, matrons were being dragged through the streets. There was no mercy for youth, no respect for age. Harmless and innocent men endured the punishments of criminals. The prisons were swelled with the just. Wealthy, opulent homes were deserted. The deserts were full of fugitives and miserable exiles.

Sometimes this tragic exposition is to be used when the people are to be moved by these calamitous times to pouring forth prayers to God. Let us say, for example, a message has been received that Nicosia⁵⁸ has been lost. Let the Ecclesiastical Orator tell it thus: "God has permitted the most vicious Assyrian, tyrant of the Turks, staff of fury and rod of wrath of the Lord⁵⁹ to smite us thus. He rules, and day by day, ungodliness grows, dire cruelty triumphs,

⁵⁷ There is no reason to believe that Valiero, philosopher, theologian, scientist, litterateur, recognized as one of the most widely educated men of his day, was any the less familiar with the Poetics than the philosophical, rhetorical and scientific works of Aristotle. See Aristotle, Poetica, vi.

⁵⁸ A city of Sicily.

⁵⁹ Isaias: x, 5.

a most noble kingdom has fallen under the hand of the tyrant. The wealthiest city, the head of the kingdom, the archepiscopal see has been seized, the most holy churches laid waste. Those who were ruling in the name of the republic of Venice, and the foremost men of that city are slaughtered, virgins are violated. By fire and flame the beauty of the city is destroyed, innumerable men are murdered. Many also are enslaved and led through Byzantium that they might consider whence the enemies of the Christian name leap forth." By placing these things before the eyes of his hearers, the Orator can move them to prayers, and also to pray for those who have died bravely for Christ.

Chapter XX

On the Imitation of Life and of Manners⁶⁰

At the end of his oration against the rich, Blessed Basil describes their customs by imitation while he relates the thinking and the speech of those who nefariously rob the dead, and, because of their greed, fail to render the due obsequies.

If you are desirous of your wealth, you should do nothing for others with the wealth that you will have when you die.

⁶⁰ Orator, xl, 139. The figure described in this chapter seems to correspond to the figure Cicero calls descriptio (infra, p. 217, n. 85), rather than the one Valerio calls descriptio and discusses infra, xxxii.

Make everything yours, carry off everything with you. Do not leave your money to strangers, for perhaps the members of your household will not even decorate you with the last ornaments. Perhaps they will consign you to a hurried and unlasting grave, annex themselves to the benevolence and gratitude of your heirs, and even use the name of wisdom against you. "It is useless," they say, "to adorn the dead, and to bury a senseless corpse with magnificence and splendor. Is it not better that the survivors be adorned with precious and distinguished dress than to consign clothing of such price to putrefaction along with a dead body? What, pray, is the use of an excellent monument, and the cost of a splendid sepulchre, since those who are left behind ought to use the money for the necessary refinement of life." They say these things and avenge themselves for your harshness and incivility, coming into favor with those who will inherit the money. Therefore, take the matter in hand yourself before it is too late. Consign yourself to the sepulchre. Piety is the distinguished ornament of the grave. Depart from all your affairs surrounded by riches [of this virtue]. See to it that you consider your own adornment.

Saint Chrysostom, writing on the first epistle to the Corinthians, concerning the body of Christ, thus commands the Christian to speak with himself:

When you see Christ's Body exposed before you, say to yourself: "By virtue of His Body, I am now not dust, I am now not ashes, not slave but free. On account of His Body, I have hope of attaining Heaven and the goods which are stored in Heaven. I hope for divine and eternal life, association with the Angels, the company of Christ." Death could not take His Body, torn by scourges and nailed to the Cross. The sun, seeing His Body suffering on the Cross, darkened its light out of reverence. Then the veil was rent, stones were broken, the earth shook. This is that body, stained with blood and pierced with a lance, whence flowed the streams of blood and water for the salvation of the whole world.

The Ecclesiastical Orator may use this figure: "To avenge insults which you have received, you should kill your enemy, leave your children to be the heirs of hate, diminish your patrimony, enrich the official ministers. Let everyone call you the harshest avenger of

injuries. Then consider whether you have done right." This form of speaking has great force in dissuading listeners from a course of action and in removing some evil habit.

Chapter XXI

An Example of Metaphor and Allegory

Saint Cyprian used metaphor thus in his sermon on jealousy and envy:

The Lord commanded us to be prudent, and to watch with careful solicitude, lest the adversary, who is always watchful and always lying in ambush, might at some time steal into our hearts, and, amplifying the smallest things into the greatest, start a conflagration from sparks. And while he caresses the remiss with sweeter, softer breezes, he arouses storms and hurricanes in his efforts to bring about the ruin of faith and salvation, and the shipwreck of life.

In his praise of fasting, Basil uses a beautiful metaphor: "Respect the old age of fasting. It is as old as human nature."

The same Saint Basil used a most distinguished allegory in a certain sermon thus:

Let each one of us, before he is led to the last danger and destruction, put aside the greatest part of his burden. Before the ship is overcome by the floods, let him throw overboard the goods he has unjustly collected. Let him imitate sailors, no matter what necessities they carry in their ship, if a severe and dangerous storm threatens to sink the ship burdened with such weight, as quickly as possible they cast overboard a great part of their load, and sparing nothing, they empty their goods into the sea so that the ship is lightened and they avoid danger to themselves. It behooves us much more than them to consider and do this.

I would think it should be very rarely necessary for the Ecclesiastical Orator to address an allegory to the people for fear of making the oration obscure. A little later, however, when we treat the method of explaining Holy Scripture, we will speak of the manner in which allegories are explained and used.^{60a}

Chapter XXII

An Example of the Image⁶¹

There is an example of the image in Isaias: ". . . They shall be in pain as a woman in labor."⁶² And in Jerome: "Because wicked men have been discovered lying in ambush against my people as hunters, setting traps and snares for catching men. . . ." Thus the Ecclesiastical Orator, speaking in the country, will call restless country people hornets. Usurers, he will call leeches. He will use frequent images for impressing something upon his hearers.

Chapter XXIII

Examples of Similes, Which Are Used to Make the Oration Ornate

Similes are used not only for proving something, but also for pleasing the mind. For that reason, the simile is included among the

^{60a} *Infra*, pp. 258-266.

⁶¹ De Inventione, I, xxx, 49.

⁶² Isaias: xlii, 8.

figures of thought. Basil, speaking against the avaricious, makes a greedy man say:

"Indeed, to whom do I do injury if I hold fast to the things that are mine? Do I destroy anything that belongs to you?" But whence did you acquire the things you have in this life? It is as if one were to occupy his seat in the theatre and then prohibit others from entering, claiming for his own what is clearly meant for the use of all. Such are rich men, for they have preempted things which are common to all, and have appropriated them as their own.

Chrysostom, preaching on the first Epistle to the Corinthians, writes thus of the worthy reception of the body of our Lord:

This is a mystery. It makes heaven here on earth for you. Open the gates of heaven and look in. Or rather, not of heaven but of the heaven of heavens, then you will see what I say, for what is there, most clear and most glorious, I will show you here upon the earth. For, as in kingdoms, what is most decorous and most splendid is not the walls nor the golden roofs, but the person of the king seated upon a lofty throne, so in heaven is the body of our King. But you can see this same body on earth. For I show you not angels, nor archangels, nor the heavens, but our Lord Himself. Do you see that you on earth can view the most precious of all things; not only see it but touch it; not only touch it but eat it, and having received it go home? Therefore, cleanse your soul and prepare your mind for the reception of these mysteries. For if you were to carry the child of a king in your arms, in royal array, in purple and with the diadem on his head, would you not throw away all earthly things? Now indeed, you receive no royal son of any man, but the only-begotten Son of God Himself. I ask you, are you not terrified? Do you not cast away love of all earthly things? Do you not glory in these ornaments alone? Do you still look to the earth, worship money, desire gold? What excuse do you have left? What defense?

The use of similes has great power in teaching. However, similes must be carefully selected lest one involving some evil thing be drawn, and lest the Ecclesiastical Orator, because of his abundant use of similes, smack of the poet.

Chapter XXIV

An Example of Hyperbole⁶³

Saint Augustine used hyperbole in speaking against the greedy:

The earth is bounded by its limits. Water is limited by its borders. The air is enclosed by its bounds. Oh, thou greedy one, if the whole world is given to you, you want the sea. If earth and sea, you ask for the air. But if you possess earth, sea and air, you strive still for the sky and try to pierce it. And if you were to penetrate the heavens, you would still not be satisfied until at length you had made yourself equal to God, or were above the Most High.

Hyperbole is customarily used for moving and for denouncing, but, as we have said,⁶⁴ it is to be used rarely lest the speaker be judged inept.

Chapter XXV

How Feeling and Mind are to Be Given to Those Things Which Lack Them⁶⁵

Blessed Basil, speaking against those rich men who say that their wealth cannot suffice for all those seeking help, speaks thus: "Your tongue takes an oath, but your hand contradicts you, for the silent hand proclaims your lie, shining with the gem of a ring."

⁶³ "[The speaker] will often exaggerate a statement above what could actually occur. . ." Orator, xl, 139.

⁶⁴ Valiero does not say this specifically of hyperbole elsewhere, but he does caution against over-abundant use of figurative language. Supra, p. 189.

⁶⁵ "[The speaker] will make mute objects speak. . ." Orator, xl, 138.

The same man, in his first oration on fasting, says: "For what made Samson, the strongest of men, unconquerable? Was it not fasting, by whose work he was conceived in his mother's womb? Fasting bore him in her womb, reared him, advanced him to the age of manhood and strengthened him." And in the same sermon, he says: "Let the stomach give some respite, and let it make a treaty with us for five days. It is always making demands, nor does it set any limits. It accepts today, and tomorrow it forgets. When it is full, then it philosophizes, but it forgets its principles when it is empty."

In the same manner, the Ecclesiastical Orator can say: "What voices would the city of Byzantium emit if it could speak? It would speak thus to those of you who are young, 'Go, fight fiercely, restore this most noble city to the banner of Christ. Let there come now Chrysostoms to renew me who am filthy and completely dead, and to sustain me. Let the most wicked minister of Satan who has oppressed me [and kept me] miserable for so many years now be slain.'" This form of speaking will have great force in impelling men to war.

Chapter XXVI

How the Ecclesiastical Orator Can Mass [Words and Ideas] Together⁶⁶

Gregory Nazianzen gathered together many things into one in

⁶⁶ The figure referred to is coacervatio. See Quintilian, IX, iii, 53.

his oration in praise of Hero (to refer once again to this oration), when he said:

For the reason that you make war in behalf of faith and piety, so war is brought to you reciprocally by impiety, and besides many other battles which you take up in behalf of virtue while you are teaching common people and princes alike, both publicly and privately, indeed, in whatever time and place you wish to teach, advise, argue, thunder, you are brought to trial by an impious and raging magistrate and scourged.

The Ecclesiastical Orator may heap things up thus: "By a just decision of God, a miserable war has been stirred up in the Christian republic. Our inner and fiercest enemies, Satan, the world, and that origin of common miseries, the flesh, plague us more sharply than ever before. The most monstrous Turk overwhelms us. Daily new kingdoms are being subjected to his tyranny. Would that our strife and our sins might no more provoke the wrath of God against us. What therefore, shall we do? Let us lament, let us mourn, let us confess our sins, let us take refuge in the mercy of God."

Chapter XXVII

How Those Things Which Touch Upon a Matter May Be

Joined to the Matter Itself

Blessed Basil, speaking on the intemperances of women, says:

Intemperate women are unmindful of the fear of the Lord, scornful of eternal fire, on the day when it were fitting that they sit quietly in remembrance of the Resurrection of the Lord, and

recall to mind and memory that day on which the heavens will open, on which the Judge will come into sight from heaven, the sound of the trumpets of God [will be heard], and the dead will rise. [They should recall also] that the Judge will be just and that there will be just rewards for the deeds of each one. In order that they may weigh these things in their minds and reason, let them cleanse their minds of wicked thoughts, let them blot out past sins and crimes with tears, and let them prepare themselves for meeting with Christ on the great day of His coming. They have cast off from their heads the yoke of servitude to Christ; they have discarded the garments of modesty and honesty, and have scorned God and spurned the angels. With hair thrown back and spread out, they receive the glances of men with unparalleled impudence, drawing off their tunics and dancing together. They laugh immoderately, with ungoverned and wanton eyes. Stimulated to the excess of the dance, drawing to themselves the wantonness and lasciviousness of all youth, they have set up a dancing ring around the monuments of the martyrs which are outside the city, and have made that most revered place a workshop for their obscenity and their evil deeds.

This same topic can be adapted to the feast of Christmas, for a certain depraved habit has crept into this season. Relatives and members of families invite each other together and spend those days in joking and dancing and in sumptuous banquets. In the cities or towns where men have been given over to luxury, the Ecclesiastical Orator can say: "What are some of you doing? You gorge yourselves with food, but do not digest it. You are molested by rheum, fevers spring up in you, you grow old before your time, memory fails, you are tormented by passion, you diminish your patrimony. Miserable in this life, you hasten toward eternal death." This form of speaking is especially efficacious in teaching, and the orator may use it to persuade or dissuade.

Chapter XXVIII

Examples of Antithesis⁶⁷ and Periphrasis⁶⁸

The holy bishop and martyr, Cyprian, speaking of Christ in his book on patience, uses beautiful antithesis in these words:

He Who patiently bore the spittle of those who insulted Him had a little while before with His own spittle opened the eyes of a blind man. He in Whose name the Devil and his angels are now scourged by His servants suffered the scourge Himself. He Who was crowned with thorns crowns the martyrs with eternal flowers. He Who gives the true palm to conquerors was beaten in the face with palms. He Who clothes others with the cloak of immortality was despoiled of His earthly garments. He Who gave the food of heaven, was fed with gall. He Who gave the cup of salvation was given vinegar to drink.

Blessed Ambrose, writing on virgins, used this figure elegantly. Christ, he says, is not to be found in the market place, for Christ is peace; in the market place there are quarrels. Christ is love; in the market place there is defamation.

The orator will be able to use antithesis for teaching the benefits and the holy delights of the spiritual life: "Pleasures of the body debilitate the body; joys of the spirit augment the powers of the soul. The ones yield punishment, the others joy; the former bring infamy, the latter praise before the face of God and men." Orators using this figure can visualize the matter for their hearers vividly.

⁶⁷ De Oratore, III, liv, 207; Orator, xxxix, 135.

⁶⁸ Quintilian, VIII, vi, 59-61.

Saint Gregory Nazianzen, in his praise of Hero, uses this periphrasis:

Indeed, since you have returned to us, as was fitting, and He Who glorifies those by whom He is glorified, and provokes those by whom He is provoked, and Who fulfills the desires of those who fear Him, and Who brings back life to the dead, Who has thus recalled you to life after four years as He did Lazarus four days after he had departed this life, Who according to the vision of Ezechiel, that excellent and most admirable of all prophets, joined bones with bones and joints with joints, since, I say, He has fulfilled your desires and ours by returning you to us, you must continue in the same occupations, persevere in the freedom of your speech, lest other men be led to the opinion that you have been broken and dejected by your afflictions, and lest they consider that you have faught philosophy through laziness.

The same author uses another splendid and weighty circumlocution, this time for the name of God. Then, in his praise of Athanasius he uses periphrasis, and a descriptive name: "That lamp preceding the Light, the voice going before the Word, the mediator preceding the Mediator, the mediator, I say, of the Old and the New Testament, that illustrious John."

The Ecclesiastical Orator can use this circumlocution in imitation of Nazianzen: "He who deceives most those whom he elevates, who often extols vices in the form of virtue, who all the more tricks those who love him, the derider of probity and innocence, who at one time or another deceives everyone, teacher of dissimulation and flattery, admirer of worldly goods and riches, minister of impure desires, shrewd sophist and corrupter even of good characters, he it is whom you love. What do you think the world is? It is he whom

I have described to you."

Chapter XXIX

Examples of Paronomasia⁶⁹ and Interrogation⁷⁰

In explaining the text "I will pull down my barns. . . ,"⁷¹

Blessed Basil used paronomasia: "You have granaries," he says, "the stomachs of the poor."⁷² In his sermon on the Epistle to Timothy, Chrysostom says, "Make God your debtor, and ask whatever you wish. First lend on interest, then demand payment so that you may be repaid with interest. Stretch out your hands, not only to heaven, but also into the hands of the poor. If you stretch your hands thither, you touch the summit of heaven, for He Who sits there accepts the alms. If you lift up your hands empty, you will derive no benefit." The holy priest Ambrose, writing on virgins, said of the Blessed Virgin Mary: "She desired no woman companions, for she had her meditations for good companions."

The Ecclesiastical Orator might use this paronomasia most

⁶⁹ Quintilian, IX, iii, 66.

⁷⁰ Ibid., IX, ii, 6, ff; Orator, xl, 137; De Oratore, III, liii, 203.

⁷¹ Luke: xii, 18.

⁷² Habes horrea, ventres pauperum. I must admit that I find no trace of paronomasia in Valiero's examples, here or following.

aptly for consoling the poor: "What do you suppose? Many paupers are rich. They are rich in grace, rich in humility, rich in patience. Many rich men, however, are greater paupers than these. They are poor in humility, in mercy, in the Christian virtues."

Innumerable examples of interrogation are found among the writings of the holy Fathers. We shall be satisfied with one of these. It is proposed by Saint Ambrose in his book On Virgins and is worthy of imitation. Speaking of the Blessed Virgin Mary, he says:

When did she hurt her parents even by an expression on her countenance? When did she disagree with her kinspeople? When did she disdain the humble? When did she deride the weak? When did she shun the helpless? She entered only those assemblies of men that mercy would not blush at nor modesty pass by. There was no staring in her glances, no insolence in her speech, no immodesty in her action, nor was her attitude weaker, her gait freer, nor her voice more impudent. Her outward appearance of body was the picture of her mind, the image of probity.

This figure can be used fittingly in any kind of speaking whatsoever, but it is especially efficacious in adding clarity to an oration and in teaching. It will be fitting to use it thus: "Do you sometimes meditate, brothers, on the fact that you are made in the image and likeness of God? Do you contemplate the fact that you have been redeemed by the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ? Do you think what your sponsors have promised for you in the most holy Sacrament of Baptism? Certainly one could think you have forgotten all the things I am recalling here, for by your lives you seem to remember neither the dignity of man nor the benefits you have received from God."

Chapter XXX

Examples of Percontatio,⁷³ Aversio⁷⁴ and Dubitatio⁷⁵

An example of percontatio is to be found in Gregory Nazianzen's praise of Caesarius who was about to meet with the Emperor: "Are you uncertain lest something too little worthy of this sort of ardor of mind befall Caesarius? On the contrary, be of good spirit, for he will, with the help of Christ, the conqueror of the world, depart the victor." Percontatio is to be used when the matter seems to be in doubt, and can be adapted to the people in this manner: "Do you think there is some one who does not carry his cross? Believe me, kings, princes and all classes of men carry their cross. Those whom you think the happier carry the greater one."

The same Nazianzen used aversio when he directed his oration toward Caesarius thus: "You have from me, Caesarius, your funeral service, you have the first fruits of my orations, you have from me the ornament of all ornaments." Moving the people to the Christian virtues, the Ecclesiastical Orator will use aversio thus: "You have

⁷³ De Oratore, III, 1111, 203; [Quintilian, IX, ii, 6 ff.]

⁷⁴ "[The speaker] will divert the attention of his audience from the point at issue. . ." Orator, xl, 138. Vallero, however, uses the term in a more restricted sense as a kind of apostrophe.

⁷⁵ "[The speaker] will express doubt whether or how to mention some point. . ." Orator, xl, 137.

received from me, brothers, what is the will of God. You have received what the holy Gospel teaches. It remains for you to show by your works that you have not heard my words in vain."⁷⁶

Basil used dubitatio in his sermon on drunkards: "How shall I conduct myself in this matter? If speech is useless and silence has many difficulties and inconveniences, shall we disregard diligence and care? On the other hand, negligence is perilous. Should I say something against drunkards? But my words will fall on deaf ears."⁷⁷

In a certain oratorical fashion, then, the figure of dubitatio can be used thus: "I seriously doubt that I would sing fables to deaf men, because indeed it would be a very great nuisance to me." And using the same figure in a different manner, the preacher would say: "Sometimes I cannot make up my mind whether what I say is too obscure for you, since you do not understand what I am saying to you." This figure is very effective in teaching and pleasing.

⁷⁶ Here Valiero's example is more a turning aside in the strict meaning of the figure, rather than an apostrophe as is the example from Nazianzen above. Supra, p. 214, n. 74.

⁷⁷ Cf. the example of dubitatio in Isocrates, Antidosis, 140.

Chapter XXXI

Examples of Correctio,⁷⁸ Praeteritio⁷⁹ and of a Word Somewhat
Changed⁸⁰

There is an example of correctio in Saint Basil at the beginning of his oration on fasting: "Which is easier and lighter on the stomach," he asks, "to pass the night on a small amount of nourishment, or to lie oppressed under an abundance of food? Or rather, not to lie, but indeed to churn, and to groan, while the stomach seems likely to burst asunder. Of course, you might be one to say that the helmsman can better save a ship burdened with weight than one that is lighter and unencumbered."

The Ecclesiastical Orator could use this form of speaking as a rebuke: "Many so love themselves, or rather fail to love themselves, that they are delighted by flattery and hate those who admonish them."

In Nazianzen's Apologetic there is an example of that figure which is called praeteritio:^{80a}

⁷⁸ ". . . we correct ourselves with a quasi-reproof . . ."
Orator, xxxix, 135. See also De Oratore, III, liii, 203.

⁷⁹ "[The speaker] will omit or disregard some topic . . ."
Orator, xl, 137.

⁸⁰ Ibid., xxxix, 135.

^{80a} For the translation of this passage from Nazianzen, I am indebted to the Rev. Father Corley, S. J., editor of Social Order.

Often the mind of one who has been entrusted with the direction and guidance of souls is diverted not only by frequent and impelling observations and impressions concerning doctrine itself and concerning the ills of the soul, but also by the distractions of ordinary affairs. A great deal could be said about this, but I shall omit it lest my sermon become too long.

A word slightly changed and turned around brings charm and beauty to the oration. For example, Gregory Nazianzen, speaking against Julian the wicked deserter of the Christian religion, says that he is more rightly to be called Idolian.⁸¹ If the right opportunity occurs, the Ecclesiastical Orator may use this figure, but only rarely lest he seem to be displaying his wit. It would not be unsuitable for him to say of Verona that the city is called by that name so that she might be truly one⁸² in Christ, and in the holy Church, and that all might be joined together in mutual love. The orator can use this figure when he moves the people to settle discords and forgive injuries.

⁸¹ As far as I can tell, this figure differs from paronomasia (supra, p. 213) in that this seems to be a deliberate effort to pun.

⁸² Truly one = vere una = Verona.

Chapter XXXII

Examples of Gradatio,⁸³ Digressio⁸⁴ and Descriptio⁸⁵

A most distinguished example of gradatio is to be found in Saint Paul: ". . . we glory also in tribulations, knowing that tribulation worketh patience; And patience trial; and trial hope; and hope confoundeth not. . . ." ⁸⁶

In the temperate kind of speaking, digressions afford a great abundance and charm to the oration as we have seen in Nazianzen's oration on the love of the poor. When he had said that no special feeling of pity should be aroused toward those who are eaten up and consumed to the flesh, even to the bones and marrow and betrayed by this infamous and treacherous body, there having made mention of the body, he found a place for digression:

⁸³ Climax, so called by Quintilian, IX, iii, 54, a figure of speech rather than a figure of thought. Cicero calls it an "advance step by step," De Oratore, III, liv, 207, or the figure wherein "the sentence rises and falls in steps." Orator, xxxix, 135.

⁸⁴ "[The speaker] will turn from the subject and divert the thought. . ." Orator, xl, 137.

⁸⁵ Valerio apparently does not have in mind the figure descriptio as conceived by Cicero Orator, xl, 138. He seems to use the term in the broader meaning given the English derivative, "description," as his examples in this chapter show. To Cicero, on the other hand, the term descriptio meant the figure "in which both a person's character and his manner of life are described." Topica, xxii, 83. See also Orator, xl, 139 and supra, p. 202, n. 60.

⁸⁶ Romans: v, 3-5.

How I am joined to it, I do not know, nor how at the same time I can be an image of God and of the same stuff as the dust. When it enjoys good health, it is a source of high spirits; when it is upset, it makes me miserable. I love it as a colleague and hate it as an enemy; I fly it as a bondage and honor it as my fellow heir. If I attempt to weaken and exhaust it, I no longer have it to serve as companion and aid in the noble undertakings for which I know I was created and by which I should rise up to God. On the other hand, if I treat it gently as a companion, I am at my wit's end to get out of the way of its rebellious flight and to avoid being cut off from God, weighed down by the chains that overwhelm and bind me to earth. It is a cool and wily enemy, a dangerous friend. This is at once a union and an opposition paradoxically strange! What I fear, I embrace; what I love, I utterly fear. Before I can wage war upon it, we make peace; as soon as peace has been established, we start fighting. ^{86a}

Having finished this most excellent digression, he returns to his proposition thus: "But he who wishes may discuss these things, and we ourselves shall at some other time discuss them more advantageously; now, however . . ." and so on. We shall have more to say about digressions when we treat certain rules of the proposition as a special part of disposition. ^{86b}

Many descriptions are to be found among the holy fathers. Gregory Nazianzen, in his funeral oration for Caesarius, describes an earthquake which occurred at Nicea. In his praise of Athanasius, he described the life and habits of a certain Gregory of Cappadocia, and a little later in the same sermon, speaking of the exile of Athanasius,

^{86a} Here once again, I am indebted to Father Corley for the translation of a passage from Nazianzen.

^{86b} Infra, III, d.

he mentioned the monasteries of Egypt, and when he had described their differences, their rite, their sanctity, their lasting usefulness to man, he turned back to his proposition and said, "That great man was familiar with these." The same Nazianzen, in his Apologetic, depicted the life of the pastor pleasantly and charmingly. Basil, in his praise of the forty martyrs who died from cold, explains by reasons taken from the philosophers how great that torment is.⁸⁷

Descriptions are particularly appropriate to the demonstrative mode. Sometimes they have force for teaching and moving as well. If there is a need for it, the Ecclesiastical Orator can, for example, describe famine to move the people to almsgiving and to penance. However, he must not use description as if he took pride in it, but only as a means of setting the matter before the eyes of his hearers.

Chapter XXXIII

On the Figures Which Are to Be Used in the Vehement Mode of Speaking,
and First, How the Orator Ought to Warn and Entreat His Hearers⁸⁸

So that the clergy may have examples to imitate when they use the vehement and inflamed mode of speaking, let us enter here the

⁸⁷ So much stronger was the footing of dialectic than science that philosophers could show death by freezing to be full of torment where, as a matter of fact, it is not unpleasant at all.

⁸⁸ There are two figures here. The first is to "warn the audience to be on their guard," Orator, xl, 138, and the other is to "plead and entreat and soothe the audience. Ibid.

forms which can be used in this style. The first is this example of warning to be found in Saint Paul: "Brethren, do not become children in sense; but in malice be children" ⁸⁹ and another: "I write not these things to confound you; but I admonish you as my dearest children. For if you have ten thousand instructors in Christ, yet not many fathers." ⁹⁰ In one of his sermons, Pope Saint Leo used this form of speaking with these words: "Recognize your dignity, O Christian, and as one who has been made a sharer in the divine nature, be unwilling to return to the ancient vileness and the degraded speech. Remember of whose head and of whose body you are the members. Recall that you have been rescued from the power of darkness and transferred to the light and standard of God."

Thus, when he has explained a part of the Gospel or an Epistle, the Ecclesiastical Orator will warn his hearers that he has called their sins to mind in order that he might mourn with them a common misfortune, and in order that this commemoration and this inner sorrow might bring forth a salutary penitence.

The Apostle assumed the part of a suppliant when he said to the Ephesians: "I therefore, a prisoner in the Lord, beseech you that you walk worthy of the vocation in which you are called. . . ." ⁹¹

⁸⁹ I Corinthians: xiv, 20.

⁹⁰ I Corinthians: iv, 14, 15.

⁹¹ Ephesians: iv, 1.

In imitation of this text, after he has taught what the Christian must do, the Ecclesiastical Orator might play the part of a suppliant thus: "I beseech you, dearest children, whom our Lord Jesus Christ has entrusted to my care, whom I hold dearer than life, whom I am especially eager to teach the way of true happiness, I beseech you, I say, to consider yourselves, think who you are, and under whose standard you fight."

Chapter XXXIV

How the Orator Can Play the Part of Execrating⁹² and Scorning⁹³

Cyprian execrates deserters from the faith when he says:

"Let those who wish to perish, perish. Let those who have left the Church remain alone outside the Church. Let those who have rebelled against their bishops be alone without their bishops. Let them suffer the punishments of their conspiracy."

The Ecclesiastical Orator will use this form of speaking but rarely. However, he may sometimes use it when speaking against public usurers and adulterers. For example, after a long sermon, these may be execrated thus: "Let those be driven out who slay men with usury, who defile matrimony, who oppress the orphan and the widow."

⁹² "[The speaker] will . . . curse . . ." Orator, xl, 138.

⁹³ Neither Cicero nor Quintilian lists this as a figure.

The Apostle, writing to the Philippians, scorns all things except "the excellent knowledge of Jesus Christ my Lord; for whom," he says, "I have suffered the loss of all things, and count them but as dung, that I may gain Christ. . . ."94

Thus, also, when the orator has reprimanded the people sharply for their sins, and excited them to a contempt for earthly things, he may use these words to say that he scorns all things that he might win souls for Christ: "I would be very unhappy indeed if you had all praised me, if I had dissembled your sins, and if through my indulgence you had become worse. Your praises, all rewards, all honors, I hold as nothing that I might win souls for Christ."

Chapter XXXV

Examples of Detestation, Exprebratio, Imprecatio, Increpatio and Insultatio⁹⁵

Our Lord uses detestatio against the proud when he says through Amos the prophet: "The Lord God hath sworn by his own soul, saith the Lord the God of hosts: I detest the pride of Jacob, and I hate his houses, and I will deliver up the city with the inhabitants thereof."96

⁹⁴ Philippians: iii, 8.

⁹⁵ None of these occurs in either Cicero or Quintilian.

⁹⁶ Amos: vi, 8.

The Ecclesiastical Orator will use the same figure in cursing the perverse morals of the Christian republic, especially those sins to which the people in his charge have given themselves up.

The Apostle reproaches: "O senseless Galatians, who hath bewitched you . . . ?"⁹⁷ And by way of rebuke, Moses says: "Is this the return thou makest to the Lord, O foolish and senseless people?"⁹⁸ He gives you so many and such great gifts.

There is a terrible imprecation in Jeremias where he says: "Therefore deliver up their children to famine, and bring them into the hands of the sword: let their wives be bereaved of children and widows: and let their husbands be slain by death: let their young men be stabbed by the sword in battle."⁹⁹ It is fitting that this figure spring from zeal; otherwise, it will detract from the influence of the speaker.

In his oration on the preservation of moderation, Gregory Nazianzen uses these words to rebuke those who wish to take upon themselves the office of pastor: "What, sheep, do you claim the office of shepherd? What, foot, do you strive to be made head? What army would you, enlisted in the ranks of soldiers, undertake

⁹⁷ Galatians: iii, 1.

⁹⁸ Deuteronomy: xxxii, 6.

⁹⁹ Jeremias: xviii, 21.

to lead?" Blessed Basil thus rebukes the envious: "What, you, who have never been provoked by an injury, are sensible to sorrow? What! You fight him who has greater possessions than you, when he has taken nothing from your possessions or conveniences?" Thus the preacher: "What! Do you never think of those miserable men exiled from their homeland? Do you live as if you were never to depart into another life? Do you not recognize yourselves to be the adopted sons of God, brothers of Christ, participants in eternal beatitude? Do you put your thoughts and cares into low, earthly things?"

Next, note this insultatio of Isaias against the impious:

"Where are now thy wise men? let them tell thee, and shew what the Lord of hosts hath purposed upon Egypt."¹⁰⁰ In preaching, we may use this form of insultatio, or derision: "Where are those who corrupt this town? Where are the ministers of the enmities and misfortunes of this city (or town)? They are now dead, or they live most miserably. Do not seek to imitate their wicked habits, lest you be made to share the same calamity and misery." This figure is to be used especially when the orator would show that something is to be avoided.

¹⁰⁰ Isaias: xix, 12.

Chapter XXXVI

How the Orator Can Boast, Lament and Threaten¹⁰¹

There is an example of boasting in Gregory Nazianzen's second oration against Julian. When he had expounded at length upon the boasting of the ancient prophets, he says, "But why do I collect these things? Let us turn to the present state of our affairs. No longer will they cast shameful eyes upon our churches. No longer will they desecrate with criminal blood our altars which take their name from the most precious and unbloody sacrifice." The Ecclesiastical Orator can illuminate his sermon with this figure especially on those days when his hearers are accustomed to receive the most holy Sacrament of the Eucharist. He will be able to boast thus: "Let the perennial enemy of our souls now depart. Let Satan, most avid for our damnation, go forth and meet with Christ Whose most sacred body we receive today, and to Whom we are so closely united through faith. We shall conquer, my beloved children, because Christ our ruler always rules, always conquers." This figure can be used advantageously when a sermon is preached to certain religious societies. Upon such occasions, it will sometimes be permissible to use these words: "Brothers, we glory in the Lord, for He has given us the grace of not admiring those things which others esteem

¹⁰¹ These figures are mentioned neither by Cicero nor Quintilian.

so highly. Drawn together in unity, we carry our cross with joy, but we carry it always in the Lord."

The Ecclesiastical Orator will often use lamentations. They are very often forceful in showing his love and loyalty to the people. The figure can be used fittingly in this manner: "Woe is me! What have I gained by my watchfulness, by my proclamations? What have I gained by my prayers to God, since with all my urging, all my soliciting, all my beseeching, this wicked habit of dancing, this pernicious art of the demons, by which souls are ensnared, has not been eradicated?" This method of speaking can be adapted to other vices and sins in proportion to their gravity.

Very many examples of threatening are to be found in the books of the prophets. For example, this one is taken from Isaias: "Woe to you that rise up early in the morning to follow drunkenness, and to drink till the evening, to be inflamed with wine."¹⁰² The Orator may play the part of one threatening if he threaten those things which are imminent, or whose memory is very disturbing to the people. For example, he may say: "Unless we come to our senses, unless we turn to penance, it is greatly to be feared that the Lord will exact satisfaction for our sins, that, because His justice requires it, He will punish His people with earthquake, flood, war, famine, and pestilence." Let

¹⁰² Isaias: v, 11.

the preacher use this figure in speaking to a group of men, especially at the time when they are making processions, and in the time of Jubilees which are customarily granted to the people by the Vicar of Christ.

Chapter XXXVII

How the Orator Can Terrify,¹⁰³ Admire¹⁰⁴ and Pray¹⁰⁵

The Orator will terrify his hearers if he places before their eyes the disadvantages of war, of poverty, of pestilence, and especially the effects of divine indignation. This figure is to be used very much in the towns, and just as frequently in the country. For example: "You will not gather your harvests, brothers, your children will be torn from you by a premature death, you will be oppressed by various misfortunes, because you do not acknowledge God, because you blaspheme Him, and because you cheat Him of His tithes."

Sometimes the Ecclesiastical Orator admires, thereupon taking up the occasion of giving thanks to God. For example, the preacher may use this figure when he regards the Church of another town, very noble and magnificently constructed, or when he discovers some very distinguished and noble mode of life worthy of imitation in other towns,

¹⁰³ Not in Cicero or Quintilian.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ "[The speaker] will pray . . ." Orator, xl, 138. Cicero also refers to "appeals to the powers above," De Oratore, III, liii, 205.

or when he has observed a miracle, some change wrought by the hand of God. This figure is to be used rarely, and with great caution, lest while we admire, we seem to give tacit praise and adulation. Bishops can perhaps use this form of speaking to advantage when they visit the churches in their dioceses.

Here is an example of optatio, that is, praying, or wishing, taken from Isaias: "O that thou hadst hearkened to my commandments: thy peace had been as a river, and thy justice as the waves of the sea. . . ." ¹⁰⁶ The Ecclesiastical Orator, called to the most noble office of preaching either by his own duty or by his bishop, will often assume the character of wishing, for since he embraces those among whom he speaks with paternal love, in behalf of the salvation of their souls, and in behalf of the increase of spiritual life, he should wish for them the things fathers wish for their sons, that is, the things that are necessary to their life and their well being. Therefore calling by name upon the city, town or village in which he is speaking, after he has taught the people what a Christian must do, and after he has explained the Epistle or Gospel, he can say: "Oh that you would be wise, that you would understand, that you would provide for your last end, that you would heed yourself, that you would hear the words of God . . ." and one or two of these statements, which we call wishes,

¹⁰⁶ Isaias: xlviii, 18.

he will be able to explain at some length.

Chapter XXXVIII

On Free Voice,¹⁰⁸ and on Exclamation¹⁰⁹

Gregory Nazianzen used free voice when he said in praise of Caesarius: "My service is a sermon which posterity will note especially, never letting it die in the ensuing years, nor letting him who has departed this life to depart utterly, rather keeping him whom it will undertake to adorn always in the ears and minds of men. And it will preserve the image of him whom we cherish more expressly than putting it on a tablet." The Ecclesiastical Orator will sometimes be able to use free voice, although very rarely. For example: "What could I have done, brothers that I did not do? Through a long period of years I have not deserted you. I have administered the holy Sacraments to you, and explained the word of God. Insofar as I was able, I have brought help to the poor, I have loved you with a paternal love. What thanks do you have for me in return for these things, my brothers? My diligence profited nothing. Rather has it harmed several who can not bear my warnings, and like men delirious with fever they reject the physician of their souls." But the greatest caution is to be used lest the Ecclesiastical Orator seem to delight too

¹⁰⁸ De Oratore, III, lili, 205; Quintilian, IX, ii, 27.

¹⁰⁹ Orator, xxxix, 135.

much in this figure.

Nazianzen used exclamation in his praise of Hero when he said: "Finally, you are brought to trial before a savage and impious magistrate. O noble calamity! O thy holy wounds! Even though your excellent body is lacerated by rods, you seem to be interested not in your own punishment, but in the punishments of certain others." The Ecclesiastical Orator will sometimes exclaim "O times, o morals!" "O impious customs!" "O perverse characters of men!" "O unfortunate Christian republic!" However, he will use moderation in his exclamations and will use them only after he has rebuked the sins of the people, especially their public sins. For example, if certain towns or cities struggle against their bishop, or if they are not obedient to Holy Mother Church, or if they are contaminated by some public sin, exclamations may be used but only in their proper place, for unsuitable exclamations, as we have said elsewhere, detract from the effectiveness of the speaker.

Chapter XXXIX

On Communication,¹¹¹ Interrogation Which Degrades¹¹² and on Irony¹¹³

There is an example of communication in the Acts of the Apostles where we read: "If it be just in the sight of God, to hear you rather than God, judge ye."¹¹⁴ In his oration on preserving moderation in disputes, Gregory Nazianzen says: "Do you wish to set forth the cause of this strife yourselves, or do you rather leave it up to me to practice the office of physician, diagnosing the ill and treating it?" The Ecclesiastical Orator will also be able to use the figure of communication in this elegant fashion: "Are children to be praised who desert their parents? Are we to praise those parents who provoke their children to wrath? Are we to praise those proud wives who exercise tyranny over their husbands? Judge for yourselves. I say these things weeping, and yet I use moderation in my speaking lest I confound you." Audiences are sometimes greatly moved by this figure. It frequently causes them a feeling of great shame for their sins and they are moved to penance.

¹¹¹ "A sort of consultation with one's audience," De Oratore, III, liii, 204.

¹¹² Quintilian, IX, ii, 9.

¹¹³ Quintilian says, IX, ii, 44, "I have found some who speak of irony as dissimulation . . ." One of these is Cicero who says that in dissimulatio the speaker "will say something, but desire to have it understood in the opposite sense . . ." Orator, xl, 138.

¹¹⁴ Acts: iv, 19.

Interrogation which presses and besets is found in Basil's oration on the rich: "Will not three mere cubits of earth contain you? Will not a scant measure of stone be enough for the custody of your miserable body? Why do you work so hard for wealth? Why do you violate the statutes and the laws?" The Orator will be able to interrogate suitably in this fashion: "Should we who think it unworthy to forgive injuries be called Christians? Are the Christians of today like those of the primitive Church? Are you imitating the religion, frugality and moderation of your ancestors and forefathers? If you were the heirs of nobility and of external goods, be also the heirs of religion and of Christian liberality." Just as this figure will bring grace to an oration if it is used infrequently, if used often it will create disgust.

Speech which says one thing and means another is called irony by the Greeks. There is an excellent example in the beginning of Nazianzen's first oration against Julian: "And knowing these things, our emperor and legislator" And in the same oration, he calls the Apostate the most prudent of all men, and the most worthy overseer of the republic. The Orator, however, will use this form of speaking thus: "These are the faithful of Christ. These are the people of God. These are the hearers of His most excellent words." Irony, being easy to understand, moves strongly.

We have said enough about the different forms and ornaments

of speaking. It is now time for us to introduce the remainder of our topic, those things which have to do with the decorum of the ecclesiastical oration.

Chapter XL

That the Decorum of the Oration Lies in its Being Suited to the Occasion in Style and Manner

The propriety of an oration lies in its being suited to the occasion in both style and manner. We speak of the style as the blood of the oration, and the manner as the soul. The oration, however, will be becoming if the Ecclesiastical Orator, speaking against some sin, or against some depraved custom, never mention anyone by name, or even indicate anyone, but show that he is moved to say these things by his love of God. Moreover, he must indicate that it is his only intention to paint the matter in its true colors. If, for example, he is moved by zeal for God, he will use importunate words, the words angry men use.¹¹⁵ However, fictitious names are best suited to these topics. For example, Saint Jerome called Vigilantius the heretic Dormitantius.^{115a}

¹¹⁵ This might well be a combination of the two figures iracundia and objurgatio. Cicero says that the speaker "will even fly into a passion [objurgatio]. . . ." Orator, xl, 138.

^{115a} Cf. P. 216 supra for another example of the figure which slightly changes a word.

The sermon that uses arguments and signs for proof can be considered well-adapted to the subject. Thus it happens that the exhortations of the Capuchin fathers to love the poor, and those persuading us to soberness and to contempt for the world seem to have the greatest force among the sermons of all men. The reason is that one's life must not contradict one's speech. But if someone with a sleek body, exhibiting hilarity on his countenance, and dressed in soft garments uses the same arguments [as these austere, ascetic monks], he will persuade with much more difficulty.¹¹⁶ Therefore, if an oration is to be adapted to the subject and is to provide authority in speaking (it will be fitting to call this assurance in speaking, whether it be power or spirit or a manifestation of spirit), certain things seem necessary. First, the Ecclesiastical Orator must show by the holiness of his life that he has been taught by the Holy Spirit, that he is endowed with pure morals.¹¹⁷ Next, and above all, it is necessary that he be called and sent to the office of speaking.¹¹⁸ For how can he preach

¹¹⁶ "Nothing can be called eloquence if it be not suitable to the person of the speaker . . ." De Doctrina Christiana, IV, vi, 9.

¹¹⁷ An ancient demand upon the speaker that he be a good man, beginning among the Christians with Saint Augustine, De Doctrina Christiana, IV, xxvii, 59-60. The requirement has persisted. In Marsee Fred Evans, A Study in the Development of a Theory of Homiletics in England from 1534 to 1692, Unpublished dissertation, State University of Iowa, 1932, see for example, Vol. I, pp. 57, 130, 202.

¹¹⁸ Among the abuses in preaching stigmatized by the Council of Trent in the general congregation of April 5 was that of preachers who made their way into the pulpits of negligent bishops and pastors. A. Michel, Les Decrets du Concile de Trente (Paris: Libraire Letouzey et Ane, 1938), p. 11. See also supra, p. 205, n. 7.

with fruitfulness unless he be sent? We read that Jonas, Moses, Isaias, Jerome and Samuel did not dare to speak even a word before they were sent. John lived in retirement before he was sent. Christ our Lord was sent by the Father. Everyone knows that before they heard the words "Going therefore, teach . . .,"¹¹⁹ the holy Apostles kept silent. Therefore the preacher speaks either from his own duty or by command of the bishop. The figure of interrogatio will often be used in speech suited to the occasion: "Who does not know that the food of all evils is voluptuousness? Who does not know that heretics are proud; that God rules this world with paternal jurisdiction; that nothing is wanting to the good?" This figure has great force because those who hear it do not want to seem stupid and dull.

Sometimes the grand, sometimes the temperate, and sometimes the most exalted kind of speaking is used in an oration properly adapted to the subject.¹²⁰ Now we will show what the holy Fathers have done, for decorum consists in the observation and imitation of them no less than in the precepts of rhetoric.

¹¹⁹ Matthew: xxviii, 20.

¹²⁰ De Doctrina Christiana, IV, xxii, 51.

Chapter XLI

The Clergy Ought to be Versed in the Books of the Holy Fathers,So That Their Speech Might Be Decorous

So, the clergy must read studiously and diligently, using good teachers and the commentaries of learned men. Saint Paul, most preeminent of Ecclesiastical Orators, who was taken up into the third heaven,¹²¹ and learned the heavenly form of speaking which he exemplified in his Epistles. The holy Doctors, both Greek and Latin, are to be read. Read the writings of these holy men: Nazianzen, Basil, Chrysostom, Nyssen, Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, Pope Saint Gregory the Great, Leo and Bernard. The more beautiful and fitting maxims of these men are to be extracted and committed to memory,¹²² for in them are to be found all the topics by which the Christian people can be impelled toward eternal salvation. Two of Nazianzen's sermons are especially to be read, the one a most elegant oration on the love of the poor, and the other is one he made on the plague of hail. In the latter he shows the providence of God with arguments that were most beautiful and most effectively adapted to teaching the people. Read that one of Saint Basil's entitled Heed Thyself, and keep at hand his others on wrath, avarice,

¹²¹ II Corinthians; xii, 2.

¹²² Quintilian, XI, ii, 40; De Oratore, I, xxxiv, 157.

pride, luxury and on giving thanks to God, for they afford an admirable abundance of materials for speaking. The homilies of Saint Chrysostom to the people of Antioch are to be reflected upon often, for they afford a great abundance. Moreover, certain topics are to be collected from commentaries, especially those on the Gospels, on the Epistles of Saint Paul, and on the Psalms. The clergy should read the writings of Saint Augustine with great caution, for he was so outstanding in the keenness of his intellect, and he disputed on difficult matters so subtly that men endowed with mediocre talent, reading his books, have sometimes fallen into errors. However, his most beautiful and distinguished book On Christian Doctrine may read often and diligently. The book was first delivered as sermons to his people while he was Bishop of Hippo. Certain learned men have thought that the clergy ought not to be urged to the imitation of Saint Ambrose however much they may approve his book On Offices and deem it worthy of being committed to memory, because they fail to find clarity in the writings of this most holy man. Indeed, I strongly approve all the writings of Saint Ambrose. We can acknowledge Saint Jerome as the disciple of Nazianzen. His speech is enlightened by such an abundance of maxims, such brilliance of diction and by so many figures. Truly, one can imitate perhaps no one with greater fruit than Blessed Chrysostom and Pope Saint Gregory the Great, whose books abound in maxims and are written in words suited to the character of the

subject. In the sermons of Saint Leo there is great gravity and majesty of speech. In those of Saint Bernard, there is a certain admirable gentleness, which makes it possible always to read them with joy of soul. But these, and the books of many other holy men are to be read with this one caution: the things collected from them are not to be taught without having been examined by the investigation of others versed in scholastic doctrine. Among these, I consider very worthy of selection that beloved son of the Holy Church and most cherished disciple, Saint Thomas Aquinas. Now, from these men I have named, the student should select for imitation the one whose writings are the most pleasing to him.¹²³ We read among the ancients that there were several men who became orators through their imitation of distinguished speakers.¹²⁴ We can see the same thing happening in our own time. We have observed also that certain ones have imitated the faults of those they admire.¹²⁵ They have achieved neither their abundance nor their force in speaking. Nor have they achieved the applause won by their models, for they have been given only the

¹²³ Quintilian, IX, ii, 1, 14; De Oratore, II, xxii, 90. Both Quintilian and Cicero would choose the model. Valiero is content to let the student choose his own--but from a carefully selected group.

¹²⁴ For example, Sulpicius. De Oratore, II, xxi, 88-89.

¹²⁵ Quintilian, X, ii, 14 and Cicero, De Oratore, II, xxi, 90-91, noticed the same thing.

lesser acclimation of the attending crowd.¹²⁶ Therefore, the clergy will consider well whom they wish to imitate. They should, of course, be well versed in the books of the ancients, but let them take care lest they be buried under the abundance of sermons that have been written. Let them think about the things they are going to say and also often write them down, but let them take heed lest they recite, and lest they become snarers or rather servants of words. Certain topics should be committed to memory and practiced.

The Greeks admired the smoothness of Isocrates, the subtlety of Lysias, the power of Demosthenes, the sonority of Aeschines, and the abundance of Plato. They held them all to be great orators. Among the Romans, on the other hand, there is in Crassus a distinguished abundance in speaking, in Caesar an admirable gentleness, in Cato a certain senatorial majesty, in Hortensius an outstanding ornateness. Each was considered the outstanding orator in his class. However, Cicero seems to have equalled or even surpassed the praises of all of them. But we will pass no judgment in this matter now. Rather let the clergy imitate the force of Nazianzen, the subtlety of Nyssenius, the abundance of Chrysostom and the gravity of Basil. Among the sermons of the Latin Fathers, we see great force in that very ancient

¹²⁶ Quintilian says that all declamation is artificial and therefore declamations have less life and vigor than actual speeches. IX, ii, 11-12.

writer Tertullian, in Saint Cyprian a certain pure richness of speaking, in Saint Jerome a marvelous thunder, in Saint Augustine, great acumen in refuting false beliefs and in proving the true doctrines. In Saint Leo we find gravity, in Pope Saint Gregory the Great a certain most fruitful abundance of maxims, all joined together with smoothness. Finally, we see in Saint Bernard a sweet and devoted speech.

The Latins imitated the Greeks, each one following his own particular bent. The same method has been followed down through the centuries. Certain not unlearned men have observed that the sermons of Fulgentius were written in that plain style which delighted Tertullian; that the temperate mode of Saint Basil's speaking was pleasing to Innocence. Several have noticed that Saint Lawrence Justinian, the first patriarch of the city of Venice, was very much delighted by imitation of Saint Bernard. At this time, then, we suggest that the clergy read, imitate and follow the holy books and the holy Doctors, for we consider them most worthy of honor and imitation. But we think especially that the clergy should take to themselves the imitation of the morals and the holiness of life of these great men, and from their example strive to become daily not only more learned but more holy as well.

Now that these points have been explained, let us see next what rules the Ecclesiastical Orator ought to set down for himself so that he may preserve decorum in his speech.

Chapter XLII

The Rules Which Are to Be Prescribed so that Decorum May Be Preserved

The first law that the Ecclesiastical Orator will set down for himself is that he never teach anything that is false, not even if he hopes that he can thereby convert souls to penance, for God does not need our lies. Next, he must not flatter his hearers. Nothing can be more vile or more miserable in a Christian Orator than this. Avoid any variety of titles of honor like those certain preachers use to penetrate the souls of their hearers, calling the people by the name of the country and ornamenting the country with various epithets. However, this practice is not to be completely rejected, for there is nothing which, used in its proper place, does not have the power to move souls. Some speakers call their listeners "most noble, illustrious city," "most noble hearers," "magnificent," "generous," and they use these names very frequently. To my way of thinking, it is better to call them brothers and sisters in Christ, souls blessed by God, Christian spirits, people of God.

At this point, let me warn the clergy that if they ever do praise their hearers, they do it to rebuke them, to incite them to thanksgiving and to correct them, as Saint Paul did the Corinthians: "Do I praise you? In this I praise you not."¹²⁷ So we can say: "I praise you for

¹²⁷ I Corinthians: xi, 22.

being the most severe enemies of heretics. I praise the sincerity of the Christian faith which you preserve. But I do not praise the fact that you do not confirm your faith with good works, and that you revenge injuries with such zeal."

The preacher is never to speak of predestination without adding something about the free will of man, nor about the wicked morals of some priests without having preceded his remarks with a lengthy statement on the authority of the priesthood. Matrimony is never to be praised in such a fashion that it seems superior to virginity.

Another rule for the Ecclesiastical Orator is never to boast of himself or his words as do some preachers who promise that they will say the most beautiful things, things never heard before, and who relate the great admiration they were accorded in other places where they spoke. They do this so that they might be considered great men and in order that they might be able to confute the opinions of other Catholics. The only result of their boasting is that they incur the envy and hatred of men. Let the clergy never dare say anything against priests, against the office of bishop, against princes, and much less against the Supreme Pontiff, the Vicar of Christ, for this is the mark of the seditious character, of the man who seeks to ensnare the public ear. Heretics, pursuing priests with quarrels and wrangling and striving to deceive incautious souls, suffer from this malady.

A very special rule for the preacher is not to try to please himself, not to waste time with a long sermon, one filled with superfluous words, for that nourishment which is scarce is seized upon more avidly.

Chapter XLIII

What the Homily Is

Our chapter heading requires us to define the homily. It may be called a discourse. Sermons to the people by bishops and priests are given that name, for the sermon ought to be a communication between priest and people like that which passes from father to son. In these sermons, moreover, there ought to appear a certain simplicity and familiarity arising from love. This familiarity is to be found in those written homilies which seem as if the master of some great household were to arise to admonish the members of his house. The men who preached the homilies we read did not use a long oration, since, as we all know, the custom among the ancients of dividing a sermon into two or three parts has never come back into vogue.

Chapter XLIV

Judgment is to Be Used in Speaking¹²⁸

The Orator may easily acquire all these things and many

¹²⁸Quintilian, III, iii, 5-6, includes judgment under invention.

more which could be listed if in his speaking he uses judgment, the spice of the oration and of all human acts. And let him impress upon his mind these words of that most important Doctor of the Church, Saint Jerome, and consider them to pertain very directly to him. He says, "Not like the unskilled physician to care for every wound with one ointment, but through individual meetings he tends those fallen from wounds." Therefore, let the Ecclesiastical Orator observe those rules of judgment which were bequeathed to him by Saint Anthony, Archbishop of Florence, a man distinguished for sanctity and learning. Let him diligently inquire after the morals and the outstanding vices of that city, town or locality where he will preach, for just as some men are to be found who incline more to license, some to avarice, and some to revenge, so also are some cities more inclined to revenging injuries than they are to luxury, some rather to luxury than to murder. Therefore, the same salve is not to be used in every case.

Sermons should not be recited from manuscript, nor should the same sermons be repeated verbatim year after year. If zeal and judgment are used, the diversity of the times will supply an abundant source of new materials.

We have now explained, as well as we could, the ecclesiastical oration, its nature, and the method by which the Ecclesiastical Orator speaks. We have likewise explained his manner of preparation.

It now remains for us to speak of the order or the arrangement of the sermon.

Chapter XLV

In What Order the Sermon Should Be Arranged

Order is the disposition and conformity of parts, the beauty of all things, and is like a soul, for without it nothing can be called beautiful. The world is said to be most beautiful because its parts are joined together with an admirable interlacing. Man is called a beautiful animal because his parts are admirably disposed. An oration, then, or a sermon, is called beautiful if, like the body, it constitutes within itself several admirably disposed parts. Therefore, this laudable father of all things, order, the teacher of memory, is to be loved and sought for in all life and in every act, especially by the Christian Orator. Its sole purpose is to imprint the rule of love in the souls of men, for it is of little profit to a speaker if he excel his hearers in all other things and lack this one virtue of disposition. The division of parts of the oration which some rhetoricians were accustomed to make (introduction, statement of facts, proof, confirmation, confutation, amplification and epilogue) is not to be admitted.¹²⁹ This can be seen from the fact that narration is not

¹²⁹ Aristotle is more forceful, p. 220.

always necessary except in the demonstrative mode.¹³⁰ Furthermore, confutation and confirmation are made sub-heads under proof and are contained in it.¹³¹ Again, the speaker who uses comparison and amplification seems in a manner to be using proof. Besides this, the exordium and the peroration are not always necessary parts of the sermon since they are used for the sake of reminding the audience and helping them to understand. This is not always necessary, particularly in a matter that is well known and easily understood. Therefore, we establish for the ecclesiastical oration two parts, the proposition or (to use another word meaning the same thing) the thesis, and the proof, that is, the argument.¹³² However, since the Ecclesiastical Orator does sometimes have an introduction to his sermon, let us say something about the manner of using introductions. Keep in mind that an introduction oftentimes is not necessary since the topics we discuss are already known to the audience,¹³³ and there is no adversary. But even more, introductions often make it clear to the listeners that the speech has been prepared. Nor is the epilogue always necessary for the speakers arguments are frequently enough to enkindle and enflame the audience without the necessity of a recapitulation. This is

¹³⁰ Aristotle, ibid., says narration is necessary only in the forensic speech.

¹³¹ Aristotle, ibid. Quintilian disagrees on the ground that proof is constructive and refutation destructive. III, ix, 5.

¹³² Aristotle, p. 220.

¹³³ Aristotle, pp. 223, 225.

true when the speaker feels that his thoughts have been sufficiently impressed upon the minds of his hearers. Nevertheless, it seems advantageous for us to say something of each of these parts of the oration. First, then, the introduction.

Chapter XLVI

What the Introduction Is, and Why It Is Used. Likewise, of What Sorts Introductions Should Be

The exordium or proem in prose is the same as a preface in poetry.¹³⁴ Sometimes among the secular orators, as, for example, in Isocrates' praise of Helen,¹³⁵ the proem is not coherent with what is to be treated.¹³⁶ For the Christian, who must make an accounting to God of his ostentation of talent and learning, this is to be strictly avoided. All¹³⁷ have written that the introduction is used to render audiences quiet, attentive, and of good will.¹³⁸ The Ecclesiastical Orator may say that his hearers must be quiet if

¹³⁴ Aristotle, p. 221.

¹³⁵ Cf. ibid. See also Quintilian, III, viii, 9.

¹³⁶ Almost one fourth of the Encomium is a disquisition on the absurdities of many of the sophists and rhetoricians of Isocrates' acquaintance.

¹³⁷ Not Aristotle.

¹³⁸ Quintilian, IV, 1, 5; Cicero, De Oratore, I, 143; Cicero, De Partitione Oratoriae, viii, 28; Cicero, De Inventione, I, xv, 20; Cicero, Topica, xxvi, 97; Rhetorica Ad Herennium, I, iv.

he is to speak in the proper order. Sometimes he may promise that he will avoid difficult and technical questions. He will easily make his audience attentive if he says that his sermon has to do with the salvation of souls, and that he is going to explain not what men have taught, for it is their property to err and be deceived, but what God Himself, or the servants of God, inspired by the Holy Ghost, have written. He will render his hearers of good will if they understand that he has taken up the office of preaching neither because of a desire for empty glory, nor out of greed, but because of zeal for God and diligence for the salvation of his hearers.

The proem should be modest, serious and brief. Sometimes an abrupt exordium is to be used. The arguments of the exordium, to speak generally, are taken from the matter itself, from the time, the place, or a belief of the people, from something unexpected, from a simile, from a statement of Scripture, or from history, from an image or figure of the Old Testament, from the person of the speaker or from the audience. Examples of all these can be found in the writings of the Fathers and Doctors of the Church. We shall set forth here certain distinguished forms of the exordium.

Chapter XLVII

On the Modest Exordium

A modest exordium, which is especially suited to the preacher and to Christian simplicity, is preserved in the writings of Saint

Gregory Nazianzen. In a certain sermon, he says: "Brothers, pay heed to our words, however insignificant and removed from dignity they may be. But nevertheless, the Lord God is wont to expend mercy by just judgment." This sort of exordium we also find in the oration of the same man on the plague of hail. Here, the admirable man asks his father who was present to teach him the things that pertain to consoling men. The Ecclesiastical Orator could use with praise a similar exordium when the Bishop or older priests are present.

If the exordium is to be modest, certain things will be required. First, the preacher must speak of himself only very rarely if at all, only if he thinks it absolutely necessary, and praising himself only in the very smallest degree. Since anyone's praise is vile in his own mouth, in the mouth of a Christian Orator, it takes away all faith. Secondly, it is important at the beginning of the oration that the speaker appear humble. Wherefore, let him say that he has been called by God and sent to that office of preaching; he has not assumed so great a charge of his own accord. There is a great deal of affected modesty in vituperating himself. This is to be completely avoided. Saint Bernard spoke of himself thus in the introduction of a certain sermon:

To begin with prophetic words, woe is me. Not indeed like the prophets because I was silent, but because I have spoken. Alas, how many false, vain and indecent words do I recall having spewed out of this most impure mouth through which I now presume to repeat divine words? I fear greatly lest I now hear said to me, "Wherefore do you expound my justice

and take up my Testament in vain?"

Still, I do not think an introduction of this kind is to be used often.

Chapter XLVIII

On the Serious and Brief Exordium

The proem ought to be serious, illustrated by some clear thought explained with suitable words and by no means with jokes. The orator should give the impression that the people's understanding of what he has to say is his only object. Such is the exordium of Tertullian when he spoke, or rather wrote, on the dress of women. He says: "If there dwelt upon earth a faith as great as its reward which is expected in heaven, not a single one of you, most dearly beloved sisters, from the time she recognized the living God and learned of her own (that is, woman's) condition, would have desired too gay, not to say too ostentatious a style of dress."

The introductions of the Ecclesiastical Orator should be brief, because, since he treats of the salvation of his hearers, they are sufficiently prepared for listening. Moreover, since nothing is more pleasant than clear brevity, let the preacher see to it that his brevity severs him from all suspicion of vanity. Such an introduction is that of Saint Chrysostom in his sermon on the terrible day of judgment: "Let every one of you, dearest brothers, having followed his conscience, and diligently reckoning his sins, eradicate the

punishments for them here and now, lest he be condemned with the world."

However, we find a long and yet very beautiful exordium introducing Saint Gregory Nazianzen's first oration against Julian the Apostate. Here he very obviously calls attention to himself: "Hear this all ye nations; take this into your ears, all you that inhabit the earth." Because this oration is considered in writing rather than in delivery, it is a laudable introduction, especially since he seeks there to impel and urge his hearers to give thanks to God. There is also a very fitting exordium to a sermon Saint Cyprian gave on the mortality which our Lord used as an instrument for purifying and correcting the people who were in the saintly bishop's charge.

Cyprian made his audience quiet, attentive and of good will by praising them modestly in these words:

And if there is among you, dearest brothers, singleness of mind, and a firm faith, and a devoted spirit which is not shaken by the abundance of the present mortality, but as a strong and stable rock does rather itself crush the foul attacks of the world and the violent fruits of our generation, it will be neither crushed nor conquered by tests, but proven. Yet I notice that certain ones among the people, either because of infirmity of soul, or lack of faith, the softness of secular life, weakness of sex, or what is more, because of error, stand less strongly and do not practice the divine and unconquerable strength of their hearts. Therefore, this matter is to be broadcast as widely as our mediocrity makes possible, sluggishness of the delicate mind decreased with full vigor and a sermon drawn from the epistle of the Sunday. The one who does not undertake to be a man of God and of Christ is not worthy of God and of Christ.

By that modest praise, he wins their good will; by distinguishing

his hearers, pointing out those who for different reasons bear the punishment with hostility, he gains docility; by saying the matter ought not to be concealed, he catches their attention.

Chapter XLIX

On the Abrupt Exordium

Sometimes the speech is to be introduced abruptly, as Saint John Chrysostom does in his sermon on the beheading of Saint John the Baptist. He says: "Ah me, what shall I do? Whence shall I draw the beginning of my sermon? What shall I say? For not only have I been thunderstruck, but all who have heard the voice of the Gospel marvel with me at the constancy of John, and the fickleness of Herod, and the burning madness of wicked women. For what have we heard? Herod, it says, apprehended John and put him in prison. Why? For the sake of Herodias, his brother's wife."¹³⁹

¹³⁹ Matthew: xiv, 3; Mark, vi, 17.

Chapter L

On the Proposition,¹⁴⁰ and to What Extent the Ecclesiastical Orator
May Digress¹⁴¹

After the introduction, or in its place, the Ecclesiastical Orator uses the proposition.¹⁴² There are three essential characteristics of the proposition: it must be single, or be reduced to unity,¹⁴³ it must be Catholic, and it must be designed for the people. Nothing is so contrary to clearness in teaching as a confusion of materials. When a speaker tries to teach many things at the same time, he confuses the minds of his hearers and obscures their understanding rather than teaches them. It was prudent of those very holy and very wise Fathers who drew up the Catechism of Trent to warn pastors that whenever they use it to explain some part of the Gospel, or some other text in divine Scripture whatever it may be, they understand that the thought of this text can be referred either to explaining some article of faith, or to some sacrament, or to some precept, or

¹⁴⁰ Quintilian, IV, iv, 1 ff.

¹⁴¹ Cicero, De Oratore, III, liii, 203, and Orator, xl, 137, and Quintilian, IV, iii, passim, esp. 15, 16, discuss and describe digression, but do not prescribe how far the orator may digress.

¹⁴² Quintilian, IV, ii, 30, says that the proposition may be substituted for the narration.

¹⁴³ Quintilian, on the contrary, says, IV, iv, 5, that propositions may be single, double or manifold.

to seeking a favor from God in accordance with the precept of our Lord Jesus Christ.¹⁴⁴ Therefore, whether he explains the Gospel, or an Epistle of Saint Paul, or a Psalm, the preacher must reduce the entire sermon to one heading. For example, in explaining the Gospel for the Feast of All Saints,¹⁴⁵ he may well attempt to teach a single concept: what the happiness of man is. First, let him explain what happiness is for, then what the happiness of this our sojourn on earth is. Then he will be able to explain one at a time the things which our Lord relates in the Gospel.

Saint Chrysostom often reduces his homilies to single propositions: on avoiding oaths, on humility, that almsgiving is the most profitable business, on fleeing luxury, that God ought to be praised with a well-regulated faith, for He is worthy of all praise.

Nazianzen also did this: on the plague of hail, on the love of the poor, on peace, on holy Baptism, on the Easter season. Saint Basil, following the same reasoning, reduced his homilies to propositions: Heed yourself, against the greedy, against the luxurious, on giving thanks to God. The Latin Fathers used the same method, especially Saint Cyprian: on the good of patience, on apostates. Saint Ambrose: on the good of death. Saint Bernard: on the gradations of humility, on

¹⁴⁴ "Whatsoever you shall ask the Father in My name. . . ."

¹⁴⁵ The Sermon on the Mount, Matthew: v, 1-12.

the holy feasts. Saint Zene wrote beautiful sermons: on the praises of shame, on the detestable crime of avarice.

It is not easy to prescribe how far the Ecclesiastical Orator may digress.¹⁴⁶ Let him look to his proposition. Let him remember what he has especially determined to teach that day. One thing is sure, he must always return to the point where his oration turned aside.¹⁴⁷ Saint Chrysostom, in his homily on avoiding swearing, and in other places as well, sometimes digressed so far that what he had proposed earlier he rejected at another time. However, it is most likely the holy man did this under the direction of the Holy Ghost. Moreover, we disapprove of the custom of several speakers we have heard who speak only once, twice, or three times a year and then deliver sermons of great length on instructing boys in Christian doctrine or on removing many wicked habits, as if they were to have the same hearers every day, and as if with a single sermon they could bring medicine to sick souls. It happens as a matter of course that those who need the admonition the most are absent on the day the sermon is preached. Even if they are present, the preacher does not afford them perfect health through the medication of a single sermon. Useful precepts are to be repeated often as the holy Fathers did.

¹⁴⁶ See p. 245, n. 141, Quintilian, moreover IX, ii, 55, is not even sure digression is a figure.

¹⁴⁷ Cicero, De Oratore, III, liii, 203; Orator, xl, 137.

Exhortations and rebukes on the same subject are to be used often for the benefit of the hearers even though the text of the Gospel or the Epistle which the priest reads in Church does not seem to postulate it. And so, whenever it is in context, the orator will preach a sermon on the great sins into which so many men have fallen, and which are described with some force in Chapter 9 of Book I. However, he will treat these same topics often through the instrumentality of the digression. There are certain topics which lend themselves readily to a digression: the perverse custom of spectacles, the choruses of Satan, and those teachers of license, the silly comedies of these times. Let him use that most fitting comparison of Saint Chrysostom, who likens those returning from a spectacle to those who depart from the prisons or who depart from a house of grief. He will digress with advantage on those days on which he so reviles the flesh that many men seem to be mad. In time of war, let him digress on the most just wrath of God, on the disadvantages of false peace. Speaking on the high cost of living, let him say that adverse matters have come to pass because of conditions within the republic. Since so many and such great sins are committed by the tongue, let him especially digress at all times to the effect that this most noble member, which was given to man from on high to pray to God and to exalt His majesty, ought to be guarded.^{143x} Let him use the words of Saint James, who says that

^{143x} A more accurate paraphrase of Lactantius, Liber de Ira Dei, xiv, than that found supra, I, i, p. 34.

the tongue is "an evil, full of deadly poison,"¹⁴⁴ It is like a fire,^{144x} the most destructive of all elements. Homes, cities and kingdoms have been destroyed by the tongue. Digressing against blasphemers, let the orator say that they are monsters of men, the monstrosities of the cities, citizens of hell. Let him show that they are worse than dogs, Jews and heretics, because dogs obey their masters, the Jews did not know Whom they crucified, and heretics, through their impudence [honestly] consider their opinions better than the decrees of our common Mother, the Church. Blasphemers do not obey the Lord of heaven and earth. As much as they can, they abuse Christ, Whom they believe to be God, and those whom they believe to be saints. To arouse greater terror in his digression, the Ecclesiastical Orator will recite the severity with which our Lord customarily punishes blasphemers. He will recall the words our Lord spoke to Moses, commanding that blasphemers be stoned: "Bring forth the blasphemer without the camp, and let them that heard him, put their hands upon his head, and let all the people stone him."¹⁴⁵ Let him say here that it is a very grave crime to tolerate blasphemy, not to expel this pestilence from the cities and towns as much as it is in our power. The Orator should say that the taverns, where there is gambling with dice,

¹⁴⁴ James: iii, 8.

^{144x} James: iii, 6.

¹⁴⁵ Leviticus: xxiv, 14.

and where the name of God is blasphemed, are temples of Satan, because the Devil reigns there. These unfortunate and lost souls diminish the honor of God as much as they can.

Also, the preacher will often be able to use a digression to remind his hearers that perjury is a very grave sin men quite often fall into. Perjurers are the disturbers of human society, the corrupters of justice, ministers of quarrels and enmities, priests of Satan. In these calamitous times, it is also necessary to rebuke detractors heartily, for nowadays, even men who are thought to be good are not free from the vice of defamy. A defamer is like a serpent; he is an insidious animal because he bites in silence, he attacks tortuously, he devours the earth. The defamer has certain habits. He vituperates no one whom he thinks might discover his detraction. Thus it happens that he very often mingles with the poison of defamy the hitherto more potent and more fatal poison of flattery, and he praises in his presence him whom absent he defamed. The preacher will rightly call the tongue a serpent, well acclimated to detraction. Indeed, such a man sometimes speaks in the form of praise or charity to defame his brother, and the brother of Christ, the image of God, one who will perhaps share with him the heavenly heredity. Let the orator say that detractors are not to be listened to. In the book of Proverbs, the wise one warns us with these words: ". . . let

detracting lips be far from thee."¹⁴⁶ He treats this same precept in Ecclesiasticus with these words: "Hedge in thy ears with thorns, hear not a wicked tongue"¹⁴⁷ Detractors are by no means to be believed. Nothing (to use the words of Saint Jerome) so upsets the soul and makes the mind capricious and fickle as to believe everything that is said, and, by an imprudent assent of the mind, to follow the words of those who have been disparaged. It is the great death of the soul, and the great burden of the morals not to take casually the evil that is spoken of something.

Flatterers are false friends, duping incautious souls and deceiving them, making men insane with their follies. They have been cursed by God with these words: "Woe to you that call evil good. . . ."¹⁴⁸ The orator can also adapt to the occasion these words of the Prophet: "O my people, they that call thee blessed, the same deceive thee. . . ."¹⁴⁹ Let the preacher impress upon his hearers that milk is the food of boys, not men. It is puerile to be delighted, or rather deceived, by the silly prattle of praise and flattery.

Indeed, everything seems to be full of curses. Subjects never

¹⁴⁶ Proverbs: iv, 24.

¹⁴⁷ Ecclesiasticus: xxviii, 28.

¹⁴⁸ Isaias: v, 20.

¹⁴⁹ Isaias: lili, 12.

cease cursing their princes, nor pupils their teachers, nor priests their bishops, nor children their parents, and (this is very miserable) not even parents their children. Therefore, let the preacher digress on this matter often, even though it seem to be only slightly warranted by his topic. Consider these words of the Apostle: "Railers shall [not] possess the kingdom of God."¹⁵⁰ It is the mark of the cruel and impious man to curse those who speak ill of him when rather it would be fitting to be moved by their misery and to pray for them. Nor is the Devil to be cursed because he is a creature of God, and is by nature good. It is because of his will that he is bad. Much less should we revile our brothers, co-heirs of the same heavenly heredity. Much more absurd and horrible is it to curse children. The curses of parents do them incredible harm.

Also in a digression, the preacher may warn his hearers that they must abstain from wrangling, because wrangling is the mark of the immoderate and impious soul and gives birth to various misfortunes. Those who go on saying what they wish, as the wise man said, hear what they don't want to hear. Satan, the author of the lie, plants a lie in the souls of the people so that he might fight more fiercely against Christ, the author of truth and light, and His imitators. The orator will declare that liars are the children of the Devil, soldiers who have

¹⁵⁰ I Corinthians: vi, 101.

deserted Christ, infamous men, the disturbers of human society. The gravest lie is the one by which errors are disseminated into religion. Grave also are those by which justice is contaminated and anyone is brought to damnation. The preacher will teach also that other kinds of lies must be abstained from as well, because they are sinful, and because the habitual liar is the enemy of his own reputation.

Digressing against perjurers, the Ecclesiastical Orator will often be able to say, since many judgments are corrupted by false witnesses, that it is impious and criminal to use God, the author of all truth, as a witness to falsehood. He will say also that perjurers sin more gravely than those who crucified Christ because, by reason of the fact that they lie, they seem to consider Christ guilty of crime, and by swearing they seem to feel worse about God than does Satan, the author of lies himself. The preacher will often use sharp words to rebuke the sowers of discords, saying that what they do is a very grave sin, and that it very severely offends God the author of concord and peace. Our Lord said the same thing through Solomon in these words: "Six things here are which the Lord hateth, and the seventh his soul detesteth: Haughty eyes, a lying tongue, hands that shed innocent blood, a heart that deviseth wicked plots, feet that are swift to run into mischief, a deceitful witness that uttereth lies, and him that soweth discord among brethren."¹⁵¹

¹⁵¹ Proverbs: vi, 16-19.

The Ecclesiastical Orator will be zealous to calm all contentions and quarrels. Disputants are imitators of the Devil, he will tell them, and he will often say through digressions that it is the mark of the noble soul to flee contentions, and that it is not fitting for a servant of the Lord to sue, but to be clement. Many miseries spring from law suits. Many families have fallen because of litigations that were small in the beginning. Sharply and often is the preacher to digress against those who boast of themselves and their possessions, against men of the sort who foolishly boast of themselves and their works. They set up idols to themselves and they sing their own praises. They are like the hen who lays an egg, and then cackles to let everyone know she has done so. Straightway, the egg is taken away from her. So from those who boast, the Devil takes away the goods they have acquired.

Undertaking digressions of this sort, the Ecclesiastical Orator, mindful of the benefit of his people, can often treat the more common places at great length. They are strongly adapted to the Christian religion. For example, the lives of Christians are judged not at the beginning but at the end. Judas, one of the twelve Apostles, began his life in a correct pattern, but concluded its last act tragically and most miserable with a noose and in despair. By a different method: Saint Paul lived for several years the enemy of the Church, and then became the vessel of election.¹⁵²

¹⁵² Acts: ix, 15.

Living, he penetrated the heavens, and dead, he was crowned with the glory of martyrdom. No one can do harm to a Christian if he is himself unwilling. Christians alone are rich, they alone are wise, alone are kings, alone are constituted the heirs of eternal beatitude. The preacher will say that this is the true philosophy, the perfect wisdom, and that to flee all sins, even the very smallest, is profitable to everyone. This life is an exile. The only liberty, as Saint Jerome wrote, is in God, not in serving sin. The highest nobility is in the same God. He is shining with virtues. The exile of this life is to be borne with patience until the Lord has called us. In digressions, the misfortunes of exiles are to be considered. We must meditate also on the heavenly homeland, and upon the fact that alms of many kinds are to be dispatched before us. We must give to paupers as much as our wealth can stand. Injuries are to be forgiven, and those who lack consolation and learning are to be taught and consoled. To put it in a word, we are to succor the misfortunes of others.

For making these and other digressions, a great abundance of materials is supplied to the Ecclesiastical Orator from the books on virtues and vices which the holy theologians have left us, but especially from that distinguished book which was written on this matter by Guillaume Perault, Bishop of Lyons.¹⁵³

¹⁵³ Summa Aurea de Virtutibus et Vitiis. According to Gerald Robert Owst, Preaching in Medieval England (Cambridge: The University Press, 1926), Note 6, pp. 289-290, the Summa was written before 1261.

One further bit of advise we give to the clergy. Never digress on the things we have mentioned, or on any other things without pious prayers and without looking to the Holy Spirit, and never digress without returning to the point in the sermon whence you digressed.

Chapter LI

On the Catholic and Popular Proposition

A Catholic proposition is a declaration of Holy Mother Church who is the teacher and interpreter of all truth. It is distinguished by age and by the agreement of the holy Fathers. Indeed, not every proposition can be adapted to the understanding of the people, such as those things which are subtly and truly disputed on the angels, or concerning the revelations which are handed down to us in the Apocalypse.

The proposition must also be popular. By popular, however, I understand not one which is easily proved to the hearers, but one which can be adapted to the weakness and customs of the people. This is also shown very clearly, as Pope Saint Gregory teaches, by a mystical description in the Gospel, when it says: "And going into one of the ships that was Simon's, he desired him to draw back a little from the land. And sitting, he taught the multitudes. . . ." ¹⁵⁴ For He taught not on the land nor at a very great distance from it, so that

¹⁵⁴ Luke: v, 3.

He might by that method teach that neither earthly nor heavenly things are to be introduced into the sermon, but only those things which pertain to the salvation of the people and which are to be adapted to their understanding. Wherefore the propositions that are to be treated are of the sort whereby religion is upheld, faith increases, hope is aroused, charity is nourished, the laws are kept, homes, cities, and kingdoms enjoy peace. Here are some examples: "Injury is to be inflicted on no one." "It is better to receive injury than to give it." "No one is happier than the Christian if he knows himself and lives in a manner befitting the name of Christian." "God rules this world with a paternal governance." There are many others like this, but great care must be taken lest the speaker propose things which can cause sedition. In rebuking the avarice of the rich, let him rebuke also the poor who are accustomed to envy the rich and who do not recognize the fact that they have been provided with an occasion of the nobler virtues. For poverty is the mother of sobriety, the nourisher of temperance and the custodian of all the virtues if men know how to use it properly. Holy Mother Church professes the Gospels and she proposes the Epistles. It goes without saying that one or the other of these, or some Psalm, or some part of the Catechism ought to be interpreted. We praise those who, following the precept of Holy Mother Church, resolve to explain the Gospels, and who join to these the interpretation of the Epistle. Indeed, so that we may foster the studies of the clergy in this function

of interpretation, it seems that we must here treat briefly of the art or science of explaining sacred letters.

Chapter LII

On the Method of Explaining Sacred Letters. How Necessary It Is for the Ecclesiastical Orator.

Since the interpretation of Holy Scripture bears such a close relationship to the work of the Ecclesiastical Orator, and since it is often necessary in the Church for him to act in the office of interpreter, it seems that something must now be said of the art of interpreting the Gospels and the whole of Holy Scripture. Saint Jerome and Saint Augustine have transmitted to us precepts on this matter, which is indeed one of very great moment in the Church of God. In the early years, that very learned man, Augustine, who wrote a useful book on the fashioning of sermons, wrote copiously on the subject. In recent times, the author of a collection of holy books, a learned Dominican, Brother Sixtus of Sinigaglia, has treated the same argument. Let us gather together briefly and clearly the things we judge would be useful to the clergy.

It is especially necessary in the explication of sacred letters that the interpreter grasp the various senses, the various kinds of exposition. Next, that he use from these sometimes one, and sometimes many. There are four senses or expositions, and we shall

describe these so that they may be more easily understood and imprinted upon the minds of the clergy. [These are,] first, the historical or literal sense; second, the tropological or moral sense; third, the allegorical; and fourth, the anagogical. The historic sense is defined as the narration of an affair, and a series of words in ordinary, familiar speech, either proper or metaphoric, but representing the thing itself. Animals are explained with proper speech: "lion," "man." Christ is signified in metaphoric speech by the name of "Lamb" and "Lion." Tropological or moral exposition is defined as that which adapts the mystical senses to the emendation of life. Allegory is defined as the narration of events which shows that the shadow of future events has preceded them. The anagogical is that by which the soul is borne to the more sacred precepts of heavenly figures. The four senses that we have enumerated can be expressed through the one element of water. In the historic sense, water signifies one of the four elements.¹⁵⁵ In this sense are these words to be interpreted: "Let the waters . . . be gathered together in one place. . . ."¹⁵⁶ In the moral sense, troubles are indicated by water, as David, breathed on by the divine will, showed when he said in the Psalm: "We have passed through fire and water, and Thou hast brought us out into a refreshment."¹⁵⁷ Allegorically, the most holy

¹⁵⁵ Earth, air, fire and water.

¹⁵⁶ Genesis: i, 9.

¹⁵⁷ Psalm lxxv, 12.

Sacrament of Baptism is indicated by the name of water, as the admirable prophet shows in these words, spoken as if they had been pronounced by God: "And I will pour upon you clean water, and you shall be cleansed from all your filthiness. . . ." ¹⁵⁸ Anagogically, water expresses eternal beatitude: "They have forsaken me, the fountain of living water, and have digged to themselves . . . broken cisterns. . . ." ¹⁵⁹ Because Jesus Christ, Teacher and Lord of all things, used the first three kinds of exposition, content with His examples, we deem it superfluous to seek others. Of the fourth kind of exposition, the anagogical, we will seek an example from Saint Paul.

Our Lord explained the law of Moses on divorce in a historical sense when He said to the Jews: "Because Moses, by reason of the hardness of your heart permitted you to put away your wives: but from the beginning it was not so. And I say to you, that whosoever shall put away his wife, except it be for fornication, and shall marry another, committeth adultery: and he that shall marry her that is put away committeth adultery." ¹⁶⁰

Likewise, our Saviour used the tropological sense when, narrating the history of the Ninevites and the coming of the Queen of the

¹⁵⁸ Ezekiel: xxxvi, 25.

¹⁵⁹ Jeremias: ii, 13.

¹⁶⁰ Matthew: xix, 8, 9.

South to Solomon, he refuted the morals of the wealthy Jews and their lack of faith in this manner: "The men of Ninive shall rise in judgment with this generation, and shall condemn it: because they did penance at the preaching of Jonas. And behold a greater than Jonas is here. The queen of the south shall rise up in the judgment with this generation, and shall condemn it: because she came from the ends of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon, and behold a greater than Solomon is here."¹⁶¹

He gave an example of allegorical exposition when He spoke to the Jews about John the Baptist. He said, "Elias indeed shall come, and restore all things. But I say to you that Elias is already come, and they knew him not, but have done unto him whatsoever they had a mind."¹⁶² He signified by these words that Elias in the Old Testament was the type and shadow of the life of John who, in the beginning of the New Testament, came in the spirit and virtue of Elias.

We can see that Saint Paul used anagogical exposition in his Epistle to the Hebrews when he identified the land of the inhabitants of Palestine, promised to the Fathers with the promise of divine glory, that land so greatly desired by the patriarchs, and sought through so many wanderings, as not the present, earthly, visible territory of the Canaanites, but the future, invisible and celestial

¹⁶¹ Matthew: xii, 41, 42.

¹⁶² Matthew: xvii, 11, 12.

homeland. It has better foundations, for God is its builder. It is the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, adorned with many thousands of angels.

Chapter LIII

In What Sermons the Senses of the Sacred Writings Are to be Used

Let the clergy beware lest they be perpetually engaged with the letter of the sermon, and thereby attend to syllables and delivery only. For these who do this show themselves to be cold and without spirit, bloodless, or rather soulless, interpreters of sacred writings. Let them much more beware what some young men, with a certain stroke of genius, have been accustomed to do. Omitting the salutary maxims and clear lessons that are contained in the written word, they rather introduce allegories into the sermon and sometimes praise their own cogitations. Indeed, Saint Jerome and Saint Augustine thought this most easy, for so Saint Jerome says in the preface of his commentary on Abdias: "When I was a child, I spoke as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child. But when I became a man, I put away the things of a child."¹⁶³ And when he heard that what he had written as an allegory on the same prophet had received praise, he wrote these words: "He prophecied, I blushed." And Saint Augustine acknowledges that shortly after he had written an allegory

¹⁶³ I Corinthians: xiii, 11.

on Genesis with little labor, he tried a literal exposition of the same book. Therefore, the Ecclesiastical Orator should especially undertake the very necessary historical kind of exposition, because if it is neglected, there is danger that he will fall into various errors. Thus, historical interpretation is to be laid as the foundation of all exposition. Clearly, plainly and suitably the proposed scriptures, or Gospels, or Epistles of Saint Paul are to be expounded. Moreover, they are to be expounded with lucid brevity. The clergy must take care lest by their ignorance of the historical sense they all the more harshly distort the literal meaning, and having left it, take refuge in some remote allegory. Let them abstain from the use of allegories and anagogical wrappings, and use them in the very few places necessity demands. Let them solve the greatest problems briefly, if possible, as Saint Chrysostom did when he explained this very difficult text: "Non est volentis, neque currentis, sed Dei misereentis."¹⁶³ That admirable man, by the single word tantum solved a very great and very difficult question, interpreting the verse thus: "It is not of him that wills, nor of him who only (tantum) runs, but of God Who shows mercy." He did this so that he might disclose human weakness and make plain the mercy of God, as is just.

If the Ecclesiastical Orator happens to fall upon some question

¹⁶³ "So then it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that sheweth mercy." Romans: ix, 16.

that must be discussed, he must show that he has not eagerly invented it as an occasion for disputation, nor contrived it, but has rather been forced to treat it by the perfidy of heretics or some other cause. Sometimes the things the orator has explained in the historical sense can be adapted to the reforming of morals. For example, in recounting the history of Lot, he can say how detestable drunkenness is in all ages, but especially in the old, and that this vice is scarcely ever found alone, but is usually accompanied by many others. From the history of Peter who wept bitterly [for his three-fold denial of Christ,] he can show how efficacious of grace and how salutary are the tears of penitents. Saint Bernard called them the delights of the angels. Another holy man said that they are the bath in which souls are cleansed of the filth of sins and become the spouses of Christ.

In explaining allegories, it is to be observed that they have been invented to answer necessity and utility. Necessity arises from three causes. First, when our words would seem to appear false unless we take refuge in allegory; second, when our words give rise to an absurdity if they are taken in their grammatical sense; third, when the grammatical sense seems to be at variance with Christian doctrine. So, when anything of this sort occurs in either the Old or the New Testament, the preacher will judge that it has been written allegorically. He will use care in allegorical exposition even if the words that have been written seem to offer little or no usefulness when taken in the

historical sense. For in this evangelical light in which we live by the benignity of God, how will the Ecclesiastical Orator interpret the things which are written in the Old Testament on circumcision, on sacrificing an animal, on eating a lamb, unless, after having followed the rules I listed a little earlier, he take refuge in allegory? With what profit to his hearers will he be able to expound that Abraham had two wives and two sons unless, as the holy Apostle interpreted them, he refers them to Christ's two Testaments and two people.

We warn the clergy not to bring forth allegories just any place they wish, for this is thoughtless, and not only thoughtless but indeded sometimes even dangerous. Porphyrius, that most bitter enemy of the Christian name, took from this practice an occasion for reproaching and deriding our religion. The allegory is to be so constructed that it expresses a thought which has been expressed in another place in literal and likewise significant words. Moreover, when a sermon is delivered to the people, the allegories must be conformed to the common places--on the providence of God, on loving the virtues, on fleeing the vices, and popular propositions of this sort. However, in a long and serious sermon, they are to be used briefly and acutely for arousing souls that are sluggish and filled with tedium. But remember, they are to be used as a necessity or for their usefulness in the instruction of life and the correction of morals. They are not to be used for strengthening dogma unless the doctrines have already been proved.

Chapter LIV

On the Image or Figure of the Old Testament

The image is so much like the allegory that many are scarcely able to separate the one from the other. However, there is some difference. The image or the figure, drawn from the Old Testament, signifies or represents something done, or to be done, in the Church. Almost all the images or figures represent either the Christ Who is coming, and His Passion, Resurrection and other mysteries, or the Church and its various states and changes, or the Gospel and its progressions and augmentations. The allegory is, as we have said, somewhat different from this, for it is drawn from either the Old or the New Testament, expresses something different from what is signified by the words and is particularly pertinent to teaching. Now, the Ecclesiastical Orator must understand that both the image and the allegory can, by different methods, be taken from the same place. For example, David's fight with Goliath is an image of Christ's victory over the Devil. But if it is referred to us, it can be called an allegory. Thus, "Just as David fought with the giant, let us fight the inner enemies by whom we are so bitterly attacked, the world the flesh and the Devil." There are many very beautiful images: Joseph, who was sold by his brothers, and who was a figure of Christ; Jonas, who was for three days in the belly of the whale, and who expressed the death and resurrection of Christ. The orator should be versed

likewise in the image of the bronze serpent and of Sampson. I myself remember that a certain distinguished preacher forced tears from his audience when he narrated the history of Joseph and showed so brilliantly that he was an image of Christ. The clergy can collect the more obvious images, memorize them, and insert them into their sermons. I would urge them, however, not to use them all on the same day. Authoritative critics have observed that such a practice gives rise to satiety. They can perhaps most suitably be adapted to the feast days. Some preachers begin their sermons with an image or, to use another name, figure of the Old Testament. No one has condemned this custom. Variety ought to be looked out for, so that our hearers may give their assent more freely. Moreover, care must be taken not to spend so much time explaining figures that the exhortations necessary for the instruction of mankind and the correction of morals cannot be used.

Chapter LV

On Three Other Less Common Kinds of Exposition, the Elementary, The Physical and the Prophetic

There are other less common kinds of exposition, the elementary, the physical and the prophetic. I think that the Ecclesiastical Orator must take care in an assembly of men not to enter into long disputes on the number and significations of the elements, for the matter is

unfruitful, full of obscurity, and inconsistent with common usage in speaking. Then too, to relate divine and salutary affairs to the order of the skies¹⁶⁴ and to natural bodies or to metals is the mark of a man who abuses his own intellect and his knowledge of philosophy, and who has not the slightest thought for the salvation of souls. To profess oneself a prophet and to assume an office which is the property of God, that of predicting things which are to come, is useless, rash, and even dangerous for the Ecclesiastical Orator. I do not have to mention what pious and learned men thought of Jerome Savanorola, who in the memory of our grandfathers was well versed in this kind of speaking. I dare to affirm that this otherwise learned man is not in the least worthy of imitation in this matter.

Chapter LVI

On the Several Parts of the Historical Sense

We have defined the four senses of sacred letters. Now let us speak of the various parts of literal exposition. The method which teaches historical knowledge embraces many parts. The first of these opens the way to the discovery of tropes, phrases, the proper signification of words, modes of expression, figures and things of this sort. Divine writings abound in these. We would wish the clergy to put their diligence into this matter from their very youth.

¹⁶⁴ This seems to be a reference to prophecy by astrology.

Another part teaches particular descriptions and tables of kingdoms, seas, mountains, rivers, forests, cities, towns and other places mentioned in sacred scripture. In this matter the Ecclesiastical Orator must take care not to use too much and display his memory to no advantage.

A not unknown part of historical exposition is that which is used to eliminate certain obscurities that spring from a different reckoning of days, months and years. It explains all the series, successions and dinumerations of times, centuries, years, olympiads, weeks, ages and generations which are contained in holy scripture. A method must be used in this part of historical exposition, lest the preacher seem to recall indubitable matters into doubt. This part comprises also a knowledge of history, and the natural quality of all excellent men and of all natural things, that is, of the heavens, the elements, the animals and the plants that are described here and there in holy writ. All of these things it is nice to know, and if the speaker exercises judgment in using them, he can please his audience.

The historical method also treats certain rules which lay open the way to an understanding of geometric, astronomic, arithmetical and musical considerations.¹⁶⁵ Our advise to the clergy is to abstain from this sort of interpretation for fear they alienate the souls of their hearers through their obscurity.

¹⁶⁵ In other words, of course, the Quadrivium.

When several rules are applied to the process, another part of invention¹⁶⁶ will show the spiritual and more sublime senses of scripture, the allegorical, the anagogical and the tropological. Enough has been said above on this point.¹⁶⁷ In summary, let me say remember and observe only this, that the foundation of the doctrine is laid first. The preacher explains what the words of the scripture mean to him. Then the souls of his hearers are aroused to morality. Saint Paul did this in all his Epistles, as did the holy fathers, especially Saint Chrysostom and Pope Saint Leo. Other kinds of interpretation are not to be used except for the sake of necessity or their very great usefulness in a particular case.

Chapter LVII

On Division,¹⁶⁸ Which Serves as an Instrument to the Proposition

Division is a servant to the proposition. There are several different kinds of division: distinction of a word, division of the same genus through opposite differences, as when we say that some Christians are Catholics, some are not Catholics. Another is a division which is more properly called enumeration, as is that in Solomon in

¹⁶⁶ This is the first indication Valiero has given that the whole process of scriptural interpretation is one of invention. The idea was too obvious to him, of course, to be worthy of particular mention. Evans, op. cit., shows that such was the understanding throughout the history of Christian homiletics.

¹⁶⁷ Supra, III, lxi.

¹⁶⁸ Cicero, Topica, v, 27, 28.

the beginning of Ecclesiastes. Let the Orator use these for arranging his oration, but let him take care lest he find such delight in the instrument of dividing that rather than using it to aid the memory he engender confusion. Let him divide his sermon in parts, and not in vain.¹⁶⁹

Do not imitate those bad cooks who mangle the meat rather than dividing it. Propose three (or at most four) heads.¹⁷⁰ Divide into three parts whatever Gospel, or Epistle of Saint Paul or introit¹⁷¹ is proposed, or whatever the Holy Ghost suggests to him. Let us say, for example, that the Orator is to preach on the text "Blessed are those who fear the Lord." Let him say first what beatitude is, second, what fear of the Lord is, and third, that men who do not seek this beatitude in the Gospel are deceived. Another example: "If anyone love Me, he will keep My word." Divide the sermon into three parts, and because the love of God is the perfection of the Christian man, say what the love of God is, and that those who do not love God are miserable. The proof of this matter is that they do not keep His words.

Some believe that the proposition ought to be divided into three

¹⁶⁹ A common failing of the medieval sermon.

¹⁷⁰ The Rhetorica ad Herennium says, I, x, "Enumeration need not include more than three parts for there is danger in saying too much or too little, arousing suspicion of planning or cleverness which would take away confidence in the speech." Ray Nadeau, "Rhetorica ad Herennium: Commentary and Translation of Book I," Speech Monographs XVI (1949), 64.

¹⁷¹ A part of the "Proper" of the Mass.

parts for the reason that they may rest and catch their breath three times and begin to speak as if announcing new material to the people. No one will disapprove this custom. For many years it has been accepted and used by outstanding and praiseworthy preachers. No one can reprehend the clergy who follow the custom of the holy fathers of ancient times and weave their homilies from the single thread of a word. Certainly the method of the ancients seems better suited to the homilies and sermons which are delivered during the sacrifice of the Mass.¹⁷² The custom of catching the breath is easily granted to preachers who speak from a raised pulpit. However, let everyone act in this matter as the Holy Spirit guides him. I have seen great men deliver very beautiful and very long sermons along one thread of words and one connection of thoughts.¹⁷³

If it happens, as, the Lord willing, it can happen, some of the clergy for whom we write be made bishops, I would urge them to avoid the appearance of snatching at fame as preachers, and to retain that paternal form of speaking which the holy fathers exemplified. Let them so weave their orations that in performing their proper duty with gravity, and omitting many passions, they deliver their sermons on whatever topic they have chosen. As bishops, let them choose good

¹⁷² The sermon customarily divides the ancient Mass of the Catechumens from the so-called Mass of the Faithful. As an explanation and interpretation of the Epistle or the Gospel, the sermon is conveniently placed after the reading of these two parts of Scripture.

¹⁷³ That is, without any divisions at all.

preachers for teaching the souls committed to their care. In treating the salutary precepts which pertain to eternal life, in correcting perverse morals, in arousing souls to piety, to forgiving injuries and to frequent reception of the Sacraments, let them speak with paternal love and clear brevity.

Chapter LVIII

On the Epilogue

The epilogue, or peroration, is the end of the sermon.¹⁷⁴ Certain rules regarding it can be set down. It is necessary, first, that the speech end with some rousing of emotion. Thus, the substance of the whole sermon, or the principal headings are to be repeated so that they may be impressed upon the minds of the hearers.¹⁷⁵ Something need be said on eternal life, on beatitude, on eternal punishments. Sometimes a prayer in behalf of the people is to be used. Sometimes the sermon is to be directed toward God with tears. This, however, is not to be done often or in a long sermon, for nothing dries more quickly than tears,¹⁷⁶ and while many men have tried to move their audiences, they have succeeded only in moving them to laughter. With a few changes, these words of Nazianzen may be adapted to our own times

¹⁷⁴ Quintilian, VI, i, 1-2; De Inventione, I, lii, 98.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ Cicero, De Inventione, I, lvi, 109, attributes this proverb to Appollonius.

and used in the peroration. Thus, we might say imploring divine mercy:

We have sinned, and have done perversely; we have committed wickedness because we have cast out the memory of Your commandments and have meditated on wicked things, since we did not respond as was fitting to the call and Gospel of Your Son Christ, to His holy Passion and dejection of soul by which He exhausted Himself completely for our sake. For we have deprived ourselves of Your love by wickedness. We, priests and people, have deserted You. At the same time, we have been rendered useless. There is no one who may administer judgment and justice. There is not even one. We have shut off Your compassion, Your clemency and the bowels of mercy of our God by our sins, by the wickedness of our intentions and by our perversity. You are good and we have acted sinfully. You are terrible and who resists You? The mountains tremble in dread of you, and who resists the greatness of Your arm? If You close heaven, who will open it?

And a little later in the same sermon, this exalted man adds words that are pointedly applicable to use in epilogues:

Indeed, be calm, O Lord, relent, O Lord, be propitious, O Lord. Do not condemn us on account of our iniquities, nor teach others by our punishments since we may be corrected by the misfortunes of others, doubtless the nations who have not known You, and the kingdoms which have refused to obey Your rule. We are Your people, O Lord. Castigate us in kindness with the rod of Your clemency and not in Your wrath lest You make us the least and most contemptible of all those who inhabit the earth.

The Ecclesiastical Orator can often use this epilogue, especially at this time when the Christian people are afflicted with a most cruel war.

Chapter LIX

A Certain Few Things on Memory and on the Dignity of the Orator

Now indeed, we shall say that memory is very necessary for the

Ecclesiastical Orator. Although the possession of that great gift must be referred to nature,¹⁷⁸ nay rather to God, it is nevertheless preserved and increased by practice and exercise.¹⁷⁹ It advances incredibly through order.¹⁸⁰

Since everyone knows that a pen is the best artificer of speaking,¹⁸¹ it will be most useful if the Ecclesiastical Orator write down beforehand what he will say. But let him take care lest he enslave himself to the words, and in reading from a manuscript, stick slavishly to it. Even though we read that great orators sometimes read their speeches, it is nevertheless very much to be avoided because it diminishes the dignity of the Ecclesiastical Orator. This dignity is of such importance that without it, it is scarcely possible to win souls for Christ. The dignity of the orator also contributes much to speaking. It consists in the moderation of face, voice and deportment. Since we have already touched upon some of the aspects of delivery when we talked about inept speakers, we shall say no more of this. We do advise the clergy, however, to use proper clothing, and to avoid both too much fastidiousness and too much dirt. When, however, acting in

¹⁷⁸ Quintilian agrees, XI, ii, 1.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ See ibid., XI, ii, 9.

¹⁸¹ Cicero, De Oratore, I, xxxiii, 150, says, "The pen is the best and most eminent author and teacher of eloquence, and rightly so."

the person of Christ, they celebrate and offer the sacrifice of the Mass for their sins and those of the people, let them wear as elegant and precious vestments as possible. Furthermore, let them use gravity in speaking, as is fitting with Apostolic men, and yet let them not strive to please the people, and much less themselves, but only God, Who ought to be professed the goal of all praiseworthy arts and the end of Ecclesiastical Rhetoric.

PRAISE BE TO GOD

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APPENDIX

THREE LECTURES

by

**Agostino Valiero
Bishop of Verona**

**in which is treated
the entire method of developing**

ECCLESIASTICAL RHETORIC

FIRST LECTURE

Whereas there arises great perturbation and confusion, dearest sons, because men do not understand to what end above all they were born, and to what end their studies should be referred; and whereas also it is true that we do not have the abundance of priests that we would wish, and which is very greatly needed in the Church [of the diocese of Verona], because of my paternal love for you, and in keeping with my duty [as your spiritual father], I do not cease to urge often that you become thoroughly acquainted yourselves with the goal of your studies and of your actions. I exhort you also to reflect often upon the fact that you are supported at the expense of the Church in order that you might advance to the most noble station of the priesthood, and thus become ministers of God, mediators between the people and God, and (this I most earnestly desire) even my coadjutors in the care of the soul which our Lord Jesus Christ has entrusted to my keeping. To attain this, you must accustom yourselves in this period of your lives to the studies which are most becoming to priests. Indeed, you must pray, and take delight in holy conversations. Since, because of your age, you are not allowed to celebrate the Most Holy Sacrifice, you must attend Mass every day with the greatest devotion and attention. Since you have not yet arrived at that age and have not yet attained

that grade in the Church wherein you are fitted for teaching, you must adorn your youth with the knowledge of letters, especially Christian Doctrine.

The Holy Spirit is the Teacher of all learning. Yet, for arousing our humility, our Lord requires not only prayers, which are indeed of great profit, and innocence of life, but also zeal and diligence. Therefore, you must not be lacking in these qualities; by them, the disciplines are all united. Indeed, in so far as I was able, I was never lacking in them, nor are my brother clergymen, who attend [your progress] with sympathy, lacking in them. It is their custom to guide you with their frequent exhortations to study and to all the virtues.

In order that you, as Priests, might, for the glory of God, share with others what you have learned, either by exhorting, or by teaching or by consoling them, I know that you will want to be versed in that part of theology which we might call the sap of its life, and which is comprised of certain lofty matters. In order that you might be able to profit from this more easily and with greater fruit, and in order that (in so far as it pertains to your office) you might comprehend scholastic doctrine, which we call the expeller of errors and the most faithful minister of Catholic truth, we order also that you be versed in Logic, since indeed you are about to become not only priests but also (I hope) pastors, whose principal duty it is to teach

the people. You must also be learned in this office of teaching, and you must treat the precepts of that art which we have called ecclesiastical rhetoric. In this matter, I have judged that I should not reject the labor of making some prefatory statement that will be for the utility of your studies, since I earnestly hope (as I have often said) that you will be the best and most learned of men, true messengers of God, true mediators of the people with God, and worthy successors of the good priests who have preceeded you in this Church.

What shall I do, therefore, to counsel your studies? I shall take it upon myself to explain these chapters [on ecclesiastical rhetoric], and perform that office of teaching which I have neglected for many years now. I shall pursue something not great, but yet useful, and (as I hope) adapted to your studies. First of all, I shall explain what is concealed under the title Ecclesiastical Rhetoric for the Clergy, and in the second place, what the scope of this work shall be. I shall speak third of the method in which it is written, and of the division of the books; fourth, of its usefulness; fifth, of who the author of the work is; sixth, of its interpretation; seventh, of the legitimate auditor. Finally, I shall indicate by what method the rules [it contains] are to be recalled for use. However, I shall explain the things I have set forth more briefly and more succinctly than I would do if I were to use more than three lectures, for I am encumbered by other and more serious occupations.

So let us proceed to the first heading, which pertains to the title. Because man differs from the other animals by virtue of his reason and his speech, he should distinguish himself in his speech, in which he differs from the other animals, in order that he might help other men. We read that rhetoric, an invented art, which learned men have described as the art of speaking well, is to be placed in the category of the speech arts, and of those things which do not always attain their proper end, for the orator does not always persuade, and to the extent that he fails to persuade, he loses the name of good orator.

You will learn that rhetoric is a language art in that booklet which we set down for you,¹ and which we think you ought to commend to memory, for it contains all the sciences and all the arts and by what method certain ones are to be joined together, as it were, by a certain affinity, and by what method also they are to be distinguished. Let no one of you fail to commend it to memory, for this distinction of arts and sciences will afford you a very great usefulness during your whole life. Moreover, it adds much to the honor of learning, which does not need to be neglected as long as the requirements of humility are fulfilled.

¹ Supra, p. 23, and Girolamo Tiraboschi, Storia della Letteratura Italiana (Second Modena Edition; Modena: Presso la Società Tipografia, 1791), VII, Part II, p. 394.

The great philosopher Plato distinguished the kinds of rhetoric very well. On the one hand, in the Phaedro, he called it the philosophy by whose precepts mortals are led to the good, and he exalted it with wonderful praises. On the other hand, in Gorgias, he called it a vile, abject and flattering thing, in which, by certain blandishments, the people are enticed and deceived. In the same dialogue, Plato enumerates four arts, two pertaining to the soul and two to the body. The supply of precepts by which the soul is conserved, he called the legal art or faculty. However, this can properly be called a science. Then, he calls the faculty by which the soul is corrected the judicial art. The same man writes that the body is maintained by the gymnastic art, which consists in moderate and suitable exercises. The body is kept in health by the medicinal art whose three instruments are (as everyone knows), diet, medication and surgery. However, the safest instrument is diet, that is, the matter of food. Having made this distinction, Plato, with admirable talent, named four abject, adulatory and vile arts, simulating the four which we have named. Sophistic counterfeits the legal art, for the Sophists affect it. While they are furthest removed from wisdom, they seek a reputation for it, and habitually corrupt the young men whom they ensnare, (as Plato says) especially the rich. He calls oratory the counterfeit of the judicial art, for the fathers of the country wished to be considered orators, and since they were often zealous for their own glory, roused the

greatest seditions and overturned republics. It is not necessary to confirm this with many examples. Plato speaks further of a certain cosmetic art being a simulation of the gymnastic art by which some, deceiving themselves and others, hide a weakness of the body, or even diseases, with colors and certain rouges, and boast themselves to be more robust than they are. This is especially a vice of women, who by some ridiculous and miserable effort strive to be considered more beautiful than they are, seriously disfiguring their true countenances and having too little regard for themselves and their health. The fourth vile, abject and adulatory art, that which simulates medicine, is the culinary, serving, as it were, King Palate, and very greatly debilitating and corrupting the body. Of this distinction Socrates said in jest that the rhetorical faculty has an analogy and a certain relationship with cookery. And yet (as we may truly say) what forbids a laughing man to speak the truth? Cicero, who achieved great praise in speaking, judged in this matter that Socrates, in ridiculing orators, showed himself to be the epitome of orators.

In saying these things, we do not propose that [sort of] rhetoric which is vile, adulatory and abject; nor that by which seditions are aroused; nor yet that which is merely a philosophy whereby men are led to the good recognized by the philosophers, that is, to the moral virtues. On the contrary, it is ecclesiastical rhetoric we profess.

By it, the people are educated to beatitude and eternal life, the kingdom of God is augmented and the most violent tyranny of Satan is diminished. The name ecclesiastical is added to show that nothing is contained in this art which the Church, the teacher of truth, does not approve nor teach, and which cannot be found in Sacred Scripture or in the holy doctors, or at least cannot be referred through a certain similarity to the interpretation of the holy books or of the maxims of the fathers. In my judgment, also, it should not offend anyone if we use the name of rhetoric, since we have now shown that Plato recognized rhetoric to be philosophical, and since we have now explained what we mean by that name.

In his Logic, Aristotle discoursed first on the syllogism and then on the various species of the syllogism. He wrote two separate books on the demonstrative syllogism by which apodeictic knowledge is discovered. Thus, it would be fitting for us [to present some treatment?]² of that most noble art of rhetoric which is called ecclesiastic. Thus, as we have shown, we have not usurped the name of rhetoric improperly. Moreover, we have used another name which is not at all customary, for in the place of "preacher," or "doctor," we have often used the name of "Ecclesiastical Orator,"³ first,

² ". . . ita nobis liceat huius nobilissimae artis Rhetoricae, quae Ecclesiastica dicitur, separatim de syllogismo demonstrativo, qui scientiam pareret, libros duos conscripsit."

³ The name "preacher" has been used frequently in the translation to avoid constant repetition of the term "Ecclesiastical Orator."

because we have not taken it upon ourselves to treat these precepts for preachers, men versed in manifold learning who have already been of benefit to the Church of God by their many practices and labors, and who have attained great praise. Secondly, we have adapted these few precepts which we teach to the brief sermons delivered during the celebrations of Masses, or to those which are delivered in religious societies for exciting men to piety. It has been my thought that those who are versed in this kind of sermon building alone are not in the least worthy of the distinguished name of preacher. Thus, we describe the Ecclesiastical Orator not only as a good man (as Quintilian defined him), skilled in speaking, but a man venerable in certain holy customs, one whose authority [to preach] has been given to him by the Vicar of Christ, or his ministers the bishops. He preaches not himself, but Christ, and feeds the lambs of Christ with the saving word. He seeks not his own glory but the glory of God. I earnestly desire that each one of you become such a man.

The second heading we proposed for ourselves was some discussion of the scope of this work. It is this: that, skilled in the faculty of speaking, you care for the salvation of the people of this city of Verona. Do you wish me to explain more clearly what I have proposed in this work? I remember the things which the most holy Archbishop of Bracchiarensis observed in a certain little book

which is entitled The Incentive of Pastors: "It is written of John the Baptist that he is the voice. The same significance is given to these words from Terence's comedy Adelphis, 'For all your size, you're only wisdom.' In this sense also we read in the fables that the nightingale is said to be all voice. Because the wolf thought from her voice that she was something huge, when he saw her, he is said to have spoken thus, 'You are all voice, nothing more.'" Therefore, the scope of this work, dearest sons, is nothing other than that you be the nightingales of God, nothing more; that you be the voices of God, the organs of divine goodness and the trumpets of Christ. No matter how well versed you might be in the most noble office of preaching, and no matter how well you are aided by the Holy Spirit in the exercise of speaking [even] without these precepts taught by Him Who is the true Teacher, we still think that these precepts will be useful to you, for whatever is written in this work has been gathered from the observation of the most holy men and the most distinguished writers.

Saint Dominic was asked by what method he contrived the very beautiful things he said, and spoke so that he drew along his hearers in admiration. He is said to have replied that they were to be found in the little book of charity. It is very true (who will deny it?) that the best teacher is charity, and that it affords a certain energy and, as it were, life to the oration. But yet, as Saint Bernard writes,

just as it is vain merely to shine, so also merely to burn can be seen to be insufficient. Therefore, anyone would rightly judge that science and the study of precepts is to be joined with charity.

For reprimanding the pride of men, and to educate us to humility, our Lord commanded that the arts and sciences be placed on an equal footing with labor. Therefore, you must take up the burden of labor with alacrity, and its light must shine forth in you in order that you may recall to use these precepts which we have collected. Thus, I will never have reason to regret my industry. Blessed Job, speaking of himself, said: "If I have eaten the fruits of the earth without money" Pope Saint Gregory interprets these words to mean that eating the fruits of the earth without money is nothing more than accepting the benefits of the Church and not accepting the duty of preaching.

There have been many men, outstanding in talent and learning, who have treated the rules for speaking. This work is written lest their labors be consigned to oblivion and lest your studies be retarded by the various examples which afford little or no usefulness to your salvation and that of the people. I warn you, however, not to think that the first principle of this art which we have called ecclesiastical rhetoric is (as Cicero thought) to embellish the art. Rather is it to practice what you teach.

In this connection, I wish you to imprint upon your minds

three very fitting maxims. The first of these is that of Gregory Nazianzen, whom, if we consider his force in speaking, we may properly call the Christian Demosthenes. "It is fitting first to be cleansed and thus to cleanse others; first to become wise and thus to make others wise; to approach God and thus to lead others to God; to hold out our hands and thus lend a hand to those who fall." The next thought is that of Saint Augustine: "Take care that you are never exalted in yourself, most insensible, most monstrous, most stupid teacher. What are a golden tongue and an iron heart to me, since it is much easier to preach than to practice what we preach? The truth of the matter is, deeds move more than words, and those men are held in greater honor whom we admire when we see them, rather than when we hear them." Also fitting is that maxim of Saint Gregory: "He whose life is despised, finds his preaching scorned."

We have said these things in order that you might understand that our scope has been to treat these precepts only for the clergy and indeed for those good men; that our proposal has been to profit their studies in order that we might look to the well-being of the Church and the Christian people. These things [which we have said] have been repeated often enough today, perhaps even more than was fitting, in order that you might be able to commit them to memory. All of the headings which we have proposed must be explained in

[only] three lectures. For this reason, we have spoken at such length today.

SECOND LECTURE

The third heading, dearest sons, was that we say something concerning the method in which this book was written, and also something concerning the division of the books. The matter has itself thus: Beauty so springs from order that Plato could call order the soul of things. Order can also be called the soul of the arts and sciences. I declare this to be the method. Attend it diligently, for I shall place before your eyes briefly and clearly (as I hope) those things which I have gathered together over a long period of time and with no little labor. They are things which, if used diligently, will afford you the very greatest usefulness, not only for understanding this work, but also for a varied and manifold understanding of things. And so, the method is described thus, just as it was described by Philoponus, an interpreter of Aristotle: "The brief way of speaking, instituted with reason." He, however, uses instruments adapted to teaching theories, and who in arranging the arts and sciences preserves a certain universal order, holds the best method of speaking and can be called a methodical man.

The method of speaking is posited especially in the presence of some reasonable way of handling persons and things, for things are

treated in diverse fashions. Students of mathematics consider only the form; natural science considers all causes but particularly the material causes; philosophy is concerned with morals, and all the arts are treated mostly through final cause. But if anyone treating the mathematical discipline omits form and investigates other causes, thus treating moral philosophy, and teaches through causes other than the final, he would be ignoring rather than using a method of speaking. However, there are many kinds of men, and some are moved by examples while others are convinced by subtle arguments. Thus, if anyone, delivering a sermon to the people as several do, were to use a carefully chosen and ear pleasing kind of speaking, he would certainly lack method.

There are four instruments used in teaching the arts and the sciences. This fact can be proved thus: Either we teach the essence of a thing, or we prove that some property is not in a thing. The essence and nature of the thing is explained by definition. Since, however, definition consists in the genus and the [specific] difference, the genus is discovered by resolution, and the difference by division. Wherefore, learned men have said that division and resolution serve definition. Further, it can be shown by demonstration that some property is not in a subject. Let me illustrate the matter with examples taken from moral philosophy. We call a moral virtue a habit which consists in moderation. This is the essence of the virtue.

The genus of this definition is habit. This genus is discovered by the instrument of resolution in this manner: Whoever acts from virtue does not act at random, nor does he vary. For example, whoever is endowed with the virtue of justice does not exercise justice at random, nor is he ever unjust. Therefore, he acts from habit. Moreover, prudence, justice, temperance, and fortitude are virtues; as such, that species into which they all fall will be the genus--and this is habit. The difference is discovered by division in this manner: Some of the habits of the soul are intellectual, and some are active, and of the active, some are in excess and others are to some degree lacking, while others are present in moderation. But virtue is certainly a habit neither in excess nor of insufficient degree. There are also vices, such as avarice and prodigality, which are present in moderation, such as liberality. This property [of virtue] is manifested thus: Virtue (for example) is to be sought for because it is good, because it is worthy of love. We show this fact thus: All good is to be sought for, virtue is a good, therefore it is to be sought for. To explain what I have said by other examples would be superfluous, even though it would be easy to do so with a multitude of other illustrations.

Further, order resides not only in the distinction of things and of hearers, and in treating questions, but also in disposing all art and science. Order, however, is the disposition of parts among

themselves, and a certain relationship between them. This relationship, however, is that of the more simple to the more complex, or of the complex to the simple, or the reduction of multiple parts to unity. Whence three orders arise, the resolute, the compositive and the definitive. The resolute is adapted to discovery [of new knowledge], the compositive to teaching [what has been learned], and the definitive to remembering [what has been learned]. Aristotle used the compositive method in his Logic, for he treats the highest classifications of things, that is, first, the ten predicaments, then the proposition, third, the syllogism, and finally its species, the demonstrative, the dialectic and the sophistic.

He uses the same order in his natural philosophy, starting from origins, and proceeding to simple bodies, then to the more complex. It is permissible to turn this same order into the treatment of sacred theology, which men, distinguished for acumen of intellect and for manifold learning, have treated by an additional method. He who is called the teacher of maxims was the first of all the Latins to imitate the Greek writer John Damascene, for he treats first of God, then His attributes, next of creatures, then of man, then of Christ made man for us men and for our salvation. Finally, he discusses virtue and the Sacraments. Learned men have called this the compositive order and also the order of nature.

Aristotle would have used the resolute order if he had set

forth from the syllogism to explain the art of logic, and if in his natural philosophy he had begun with the animals and explained origins last. This order is suited much more to discovery than to teaching.

Order is definitive when at the very beginning of a work, a definition is proposed and nothing else is treated but the explanation of that definition. Galen used this order in the teaching of the medical art, and we have tried to use it in treating ecclesiastical rhetoric, for we define ecclesiastical rhetoric to be the art of the invention, disposition and elocution of everything which pertains to the salvation of souls, by teaching by moving and by winning in order to persuade, to augment the Kingdom of God, and to diminish the tyranny of Satan.

Do you ask the point of all this, dearest sons? We have considered it necessary to repeat these things which we have neglected for a long time now and have almost forgotten in order to show that the work which we set forth for you is not completely lacking in method. A teaching mode has been used and an outline of the things which it discusses has been prepared. The precepts have been treated with a certain lack of polish for your understanding.⁴ Moreover, they are varified by examples drawn from the holy fathers and written in a popular style; that is, the people can be instructed by them. Throughout the whole book, we have used the four instruments of which we

⁴ Valiero certainly does not imply any dullness on the part of his hearers. Rather does he promise to shun the complexities and ornaments of contemporary style to avoid confusion to others and the danger to himself of apparent ostentation.

spoke. We have used division often, for example, when we distinguished the word law, and when we considered the various virtues and the kinds of sins. In inventing commonplaces, we were very greatly aided by the instrument of resolution. The work abounds in descriptions. We showed what each of the sins and each of the virtues is. It was not necessary to offer proofs from cause since we are treating the precepts of rhetoric, but we sometimes used proofs from effects. For example, we showed that no one is sad except on his own account, because sin is the only evil. [We also used proof from effects] when we showed that the humble are wise because they know themselves. However, in treating this whole ecclesiastical art in general, it was fitting to use a definitive order adapted to memory.

It seems to me these precepts should indeed be committed to memory for holding, but they should be recalled to use by practice. No great amount of time should be taken for learning these precepts, for the duties of the good priest are many. To teach comes first. This is done not so much by rules, but by a certain holy simplicity and the example of one's life.

In imitation of Aristotle, that most profound philosopher and scribe of nature, we have divided the work into three books. We have demonstrated, first, that hearers are taught by this method, that they are moved by this method, and, third, that they are won

by it.⁵ So, we have tried to divide this work as that great man did his. We have set down for the use of your studies a certain little booklet giving the entire division of this work⁶ in order that when the precepts have been explained to you they might not seem new.

Let us say something of the usefulness of this work in order that you might be moved to read these books more diligently. "Take heed to thyself and to doctrine: be earnest in them. For in doing this thou shalt save both thyself and them that hear thee," wrote Saint Paul to Timothy.⁷ Since he who is well versed in the ecclesiastical office of speaking works salvation for himself and others, one may easily see the utility of this art in which are explained the precepts for speaking well. Saint Gregory writes that to the extent that one takes upon himself the duty of preaching to the people, to that extent are his sins more easily and more quickly forgiven. It would be fitting for me to adapt also to priests what the most holy Bishop of Bracchiarensis, whom we mentioned a little

⁵ Even in imitating Aristotle, Vallero retains the Ciceronian concepts.

⁶ Vallero's Synopsis of the Ecclesiastical Rhetoric. See number 5 among the list of titles on p. 22. Even though the Synopsis is included in the Cologne edition of 1582, I have not thought it necessary to include a translation of it here because it is a little more than a summary of the Ecclesiastical Rhetoric in outline form and composed mainly of chapter titles.

⁷ I Timothy: iv, 16.

earlier, wrote concerning the [duties of the] bishop. What else, dearest sons, is the pastor, or rather, what else should he be but the sun of his parish, the whole man aflame, his every intent upon the salvation of souls, preaching very often by work, and always by example. In order that you might be burning lights, imitators of John the Baptist, precursors of our Lord, the knowledge of ecclesiastical rhetoric would be of no small benefit. What great profit there is in winning even one soul for Christ can be shown from the testimony of the Saviour Himself. He said of the sinner doing penance that the choirs of angels exult with joy as do all the blessed souls who enjoy the sight of God. Ecclesiastical orators convert to God not only one or two, which is great, as we said, but [they convert] innumerable souls, entire cities and provinces. They wipe out many errors, stilling seditions and various disturbances. They establish laws and holy institutions. Anyone can understand how acceptable this is to God, and how useful it is to him who can accomplish it.

Enough has been said concerning the usefulness of this art. I would say more if it were necessary, but because, as I see it, you will be sufficiently aroused to learning this faculty of your own accord, let us explain the remaining headings.

The authors of books are praised. Whence their hearers are aroused to reading their books diligently. Therefore, when the translators of Aristotle cover him with marvelous praises, and call him

(not undeservedly) the greatest philosopher, the miracle of nature, and, as it were, her most faithful scribe, they attract men to his study. It has happened thus with Plato, and with Cicero, and with the scholastics, that is to say, Saint Thomas [Aquinas], the interpreter of the maxims of the Master. But what shall I say of the author of this Ecclesiastical Rhetoric? It would not be easy to determine in reality who its author is. To put the matter in its true light in a few words, it is not my work, nor is it not mine. Charles Cardinal Borromeo, about whom it is fitting for me to say these few words because he is not present, is a man assuredly gifted with an excelling love for God, and given to the Church by God in these times to restore her to her pristine purity. This man, who never thinks of anything other than distinguishing that most noble Church of Milan, and who does not cease to arouse to the same diligence the other bishops, whom he embraces with a certain paternal love, can deservedly be called the incentive of Italian bishops. He, I say, conceived in his mind this Ecclesiastical Rhetoric. From the beginning, I frankly confess, I opposed it somewhat, and argued against his feelings in the matter. I outlined the work, and labored on it as much as my manifold occupations allowed me through several months. The Dominican Bishop, Jerome Vielmus, is a very learned man, and one gifted with outstanding judgment. I enjoyed him also as a teacher while he was, to his great credit, professor of sacred theology at Rome. After I had

outlined the work, he afforded me a great usefulness by virtue of his extensive learning and his great friendship for me. Others also from among the fathers of the Society of Jesus aided this work. Sons, if anyone were to call this Society [of Saint Ignatius] the flower of the Church and of good judgment, or a certain holy academy of belles-lettres, he would not err. Moreover, men versed in the study of Holy Scripture and the reading of the holy fathers, accomplished those things in polishing this work which I myself, distracted by various occupations, could scarcely accomplish even with great labor. Moreover, the most worthy Cardinal (I might call him the father of this Ecclesiastical Rhetoric) will see to it that learned men, whom he cherishes and sustains, and who are versed in ecclesiastical eloquence, take up some part of the labor and industry necessary for accomplishing this work.

Sons, when this work has been completed, if you think that it is the work of Cardinal Borromeo, think [rather] that the Holy Spirit is its author, for that worthy man of God, [the same Cardinal Borromeo,] is led by the Holy Spirit, as many things indicate. If you think the work is mine because I have outlined it, you will perceive some fruit from the industry and labor of your father, for do not paternal precepts teach more than those of others? And who is not pleased more by domestic discipline? These things that I have said are enough for today.

THIRD LECTURE

Let us speak of the interpretation of the Ecclesiastical Rhetoric. We do not do this to teach him who will interpret these books, for I do not think he will act by my rules. Rather do I hope that at some time there will be some among you who will teach this Ecclesiastical Rhetoric to those in your school who succeed to the order of acolyte and to those who are admitted to the seminary.

It very rarely happens that sufficient talent is lacking in him who is chosen for the office of teaching. Moreover, he is usually well trained, especially in the arts, and most of all in the one which he will expound, for if anyone lacks the aid of talent, why would he want to teach. Sons, it is the mark of kings to teach, because it seems that for some reason he who teaches rules, leads and draws souls wherever he will. At this point, I can not but deplore the perverse attitude of some who scorn a thoroughly useful class of men and incite them to envy. On the contrary, since it is not vile, but honorable, to learn, it is more honorable to teach. But it certainly happens that those who are engaged in teaching have themselves learned badly, and have begun to be held in contempt because they have exercised the most noble art of teaching badly. The more others teach boys, and especially the elements of Grammar, the more are they to be loved and held in honor because they exercise to great extent that most noble virtue mercy.

But that distinguished, or rather holy, office of teaching is to be exercised with innocence and sanctity. Attend diligently to what we require in the teacher of ecclesiastical rhetoric. We require judgment, knowledge, especially of rhetoric, dialectic, and of the principal arts, study of the holy fathers, diligence, modesty and humility in disputing. A learned man has called judgment the sap of prudence. It consists mainly in the interpreter's not massing everything together in the same text. Instead, he selects only those things which pertain to the text he undertakes to explain. He will omit other things for another time, as Horace advises us with excellent judgment in his Poetics. Truly, there is great lack of judgment in these times. It could rightly be thought to arise in great part from pride, for the teachers of these times fearing they will be looked upon as not very learned men, often drag in very difficult questions having little or no pertinence to the words which they have set out to explain. Thus it can be fittingly said, "It was not this text." The giver of judgment, as of all good things, is the Lord. By nature, the seeds of judgment are contained in certain distinguished talents, which are cultivated by practice and by association with learned men. The interpreter of the Ecclesiastical Rhetoric must not use an ear pleasing and carefully chosen manner of speaking. Rather should he strive for brevity and perspicuity. He should not desire to be a great man but a clear teacher. He should take thought of your talents, and not snatch after

the reputation of learning. Let us most earnestly hope that he will be versed in those most beautiful books which Aristotle wrote to Theodectes. We have striven to arrange this work in imitation of that most distinguished man. From the commentaries which have been written on his books, it will be possible to provide yourselves with many things which will add greatly to your studies.

In another place we have given Grammar the not undeserved name of nurse of all the arts and sciences, and we have deplored the depraved habit of some [men] of this age who, without the milk of this nurse, apply themselves, like infants, to the most noble arts. Anyone can easily see this happen in the public schools. Therefore, it will be well for the teacher, in explaining the Ecclesiastical Rhetoric, to do so not only consistently, but in good Latin,⁸ and, if it is possible, with a certain ecclesiastical elegance.

Since there is a great affinity between rhetoric and dialectic,⁹ I deem it serviceable that he who takes up the office of explaining the Ecclesiastical Rhetoric be versed in dialectic, in order that he might be able to discuss the various kinds of arguments, the enthymeme, examples and commonplaces, so that the things he says may be easily impressed upon your minds. Let us hope, also, that the teacher of this Rhetoric be versed in the books of the holy fathers, in order that

⁸ Quintilian's demand.

⁹ Aristotle's starting point in the Rhetoric.

the precepts which are treated in this book may be better illustrated with examples, and not only in order that he might be of greater benefit to your studies, but also in order that he might benefit the work by augmenting it and embellishing it [out of his own knowledge]. (Even though the book has not yet appeared, because it is not finished, we have nevertheless promised that it will be taught to you postulants.)

We have also required modesty and humility in the teacher. You ask why? For this reason: We wish for modesty no less than learning in the teacher of the Ecclesiastical Rhetoric lest you be educated to ostentation, and lest those seeds of judgment which have been given to you from heaven be corrupted at your age by chattering discourse. For this reason, Saint Gregory Nazianzen, in his book on observing modesty in discourse, treats certain very useful rules by which you can be educated to modesty and humility, for that very great man writes thus: "Not only him who speaks of himself very rarely and with but few words, and who politely takes the lowest place, do we call modest and humble, but him also who relinquishes the office of speaking to those to whom it pertains, and admits himself to be ignorant of what he does not know well." And a little later he says that he would rather be ignorant than curious and dull rather than bold in speaking. Would that those who dispute with such pleasure on every topic [that comes up] would consider these words. Would that they would consider also the words which the same most distinguished man

writes in his first book on theology: that it is not the part of anyone to discourse on divine matters at whatever time or place he will. Even before the time of this most excellent theologian, this fact was also recognized by Plato who, in the seventh book of his Republic, forbade young men to argue on both sides in some consideration of art. He did this for two reasons, first, lest they be educated to ostentation, and second, lest they corrupt their judgment. This precaution is much more to be observed in sacred theology, especially by young men and also by those who are versed in scholastic doctrine. Disputation should never be set upon unless (as was the custom in well regulated monasteries and congregations) there are present those who are acquainted with the practice and can keep the disputants within the limits of their function and answer their arguments. Therefore, we wish the teacher of the Ecclesiastical Rhetoric to be modest above all, that is, foreign to all arrogance and ostentation, speaking rarely of himself and at no great length, and by no means seeking glory in his disputations, and for the precepts of ecclesiastical rhetoric are to be impressed upon the minds of young men not so much by disputations as by some lucid and brief explanation.

I also require humility, first, because humility is the sister of wisdom. Then too, the teacher must not think it unworthy of a man, instructed in the aids I have mentioned, to teach a book not published and not yet even finished. Nevertheless, he will do it if he

looks to the glory of God and his own usefulness to your studies as any pious man ought.

Now follows the seventh heading, which requires us to speak concerning the lawful hearer of the Ecclesiastical Rhetoric. Only mediocre talent is required to make progress in this art, for its distinguished author is the Holy Spirit who so loves goodness that He flees fictions and does not inhabit the soul stained with sin. Therefore, we require in the hearer of this work goodness, which it is fitting for us to call purity. Apply yourselves to hearing these precepts with this attitude in order that you might lead souls to Christ.

First, you must do the things which you propose are to be done by others. Therefore, learn these precepts by heart, and hold them in memory, in order that you might serve your mother, the Church of Verona, and one day aid the bishop, your father, with your labor.

At this point, I can not but mention certain impetuous souls (to use the most modern word) who often afflict me with sadness, who can not be satisfied with any learning in this day and time, who sometimes scorn even learned teachers, and who, not at all content within the boundaries of the diocese of Verona, wander far and wide, often not understanding the things they consider. They are ungrateful, deserting children, foolishly trying to separate themselves from the embraces of their mother, as if indeed many fathers could be found, and as if it were easy in another locality to find food with which to

feed their souls, food sweeter than maternal milk. The truth of the matter is this, believe me: Neither are the great honors of Rome prepared for all, nor are they even to be sought for. They sometimes follow those who flee them. Therefore, think of Verona and the diocese of Verona as your world, for the reason that you have been born in this diocese and have been educated here with so many and such great labors. Do this in order that you might aid your father in his great labors.

Diligence, dearest sons, is necessary. It happens most advantageously, I think, that this work has not been published, so that it is necessary for you to write down a part of it every day. This is conducive to arousing and sustaining your diligence. Perhaps writing these precepts will also help fix them in your memory. Certainly this is most true of the time before the art of printing books was in use. Perhaps the number of those who wished to be called learned was not so great, but those who surrendered themselves to learning at that time were very learned, and those who have lived in more recent years and have been held in great honor cannot be compared in learning with their elders at all.

Your diligence will appear in the number of times you have transcribed this work, for if we read that Demosthenes, in order that he might lead the Athenians into whatever frame of mind he wished, transcribed the speeches of Thucydides eight times, how much more ought the servant of God, a minister of the Church, copy off the

Ecclesiastical Rhetoric, a most useful art, and imprint its precepts on his mind in order that he might win souls for Christ, and lead them to their heavenly homeland?

Your diligence will also win you praise if each of you will, for the sake of memory, make commentaries in which you compress the things you have heard every day, for just as to read and not to understand is not to pay attention, so also to hear and not to commend to memory and not to recall to use what you have heard is to waste time. Do you know in what your diligence especially consists? It is in this, that you often interrogate your teacher with great modesty, and that you often interrogate also the learned men of whom there is no lack in this Church, for a suitable and fittingly put interrogation and an opportune question is the mark of diligence and adorns your age.

Above all, I require humility, for I know some of you who have made great progress [in this virtue], even if they do not think themselves to have done so. Good priests and pastors would have already evolved from among those who have preceeded you, and who are not lacking in talent and critical judgment, if they had not failed themselves, if they had known and observed the maxim "Make haste slowly." Thus, there is inscribed above the doors of this school, "Only the pure, diligent and humble enter here."

In the eighth heading, it was proposed that we say something about the method by which the precepts of the Ecclesiastical Rhetoric

are to be recalled for use. Now, if I were to explain the matter as it demands, a fourth lecture would be necessary; but, as I have said, I am burdened with more serious occupations. It is not difficult either to teach the precepts of an art, or to hold them in memory. What is difficult is to recall them to use. The precepts of rhetoric, the rules of dialectic, even the theorems of the medical art can be learned in a short time. However, one lifetime is scarcely enough to recall them to use. For this reason, Saint Augustine says in his writings that spirited and impetuous intellects have been accustomed to arrive at praise rather by practice and the imitation of the most eloquent men rather than by the precepts of the rhetors. But if this is your opinion, do not conclude that a knowledge of the precepts which arise from this helpful observation is not useful to those with outstanding talents.

The precepts which have been treated concerning the things that are to be believed (for example), will be recalled this way: In explaining the words of our Saviour to Mary Magdelene, "Thy faith hath saved thee," you will say, concerning the usefulness of believing, that faith is not enough, and you will show that it is to be proved by works, that God is to be believed because He never deceives because He is all good, all powerful and all wise. You will also be able to take up the definition of faith which is set forth wherever there is a discussion of virtues. From this definition are to be drawn

propositions and arguments for speaking. So also, in explaining the proposition, "If you love me keep my word," you will show that a Christian life is the rule of love, and that all misfortunes are born because we use what we ought to enjoy and enjoy what we ought to use, as Saint Augustine said. Moreover, we do not love the things we should love. In our love, we [oftentimes] pervert [true] order. [You will shew also] that producing good works is the mark of love, and the words of God are the precepts of God. To arouse love, you will explain the pertinent texts explained in Book II. Then you will use the forms of speaking treated in the third Book, warning, exhorting, thundering and threatening. You will shine with all zeal and diligence in order that, by love, you may draw the people of the world to the love of God. You will recall these precepts to use if you will use diligence in writing the sermons which you have been accustomed to deliver before me, and if you follow the rule of saying nothing that is inconsistent with the precepts of this art. You will attain this [goal of recalling these precepts to use] if you will cite your texts in the margin [of your sermons] and if, before you appear in public, you practice your sermons among yourselves, asking your brothers to correct you. [Remember that] it is the mark of outstanding talent and good manners to accept corrections [gracefully].

It is the good fortune of you acolytes to have as the judge and corrector of your sermons the same Father Alexius Figliucci whom

you have as the moderator of your consciences, ¹⁰ a good man whom you hear daily, and one adorned with ecclesiastical eloquence.

Now, because I have spoken too long today, in order that I might discharge what I set out to accomplish, I shall put an end to these remarks. I earnestly exhort my brother clergy who are present, since I myself cannot do so as often as I would like, to aid you by their presence and their exhortations. I trust that they will do this out of charity toward you and in behalf of the love they have for our common mother, and my spouse, the Church of Verona.

THE END

¹⁰ Confessor and spiritual guide.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Charles Sumner Mudd, Jr., was born in Memphis, Tennessee, January 31, 1921. He attended public and parochial schools in Quincy and Hillsboro, Illinois, Moberly, Missouri, Los Angeles, California, San Antonio, Texas, and Saint Louis, Missouri, and graduated from Jackson High School, Jackson, Tennessee, in 1938. In 1942, he received an A.B. degree from Saint Louis University with a major in history. After something more than three years with the Army Air Forces, he came to Louisiana State University in 1946, and received an M.A. degree in 1948 with a major in the field of speech. Since that time, he has taught at Saint Louis University and at Sul Ross State College, in Alpine, Texas. At the present time, he is Associate Professor of Speech in the latter institution. He completed the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of Speech at Louisiana State University in May, 1953.

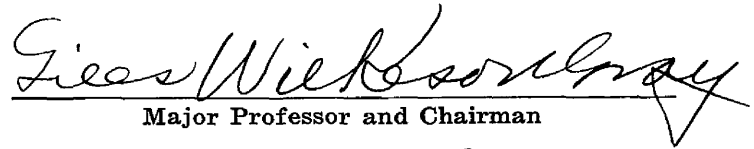
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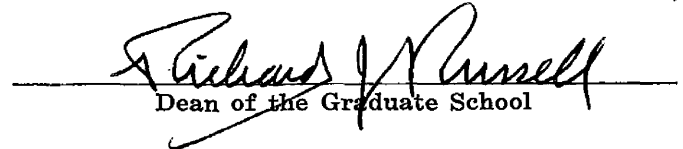
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Major Field: **Speech**

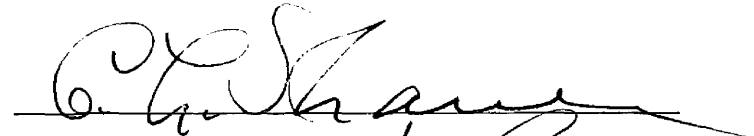
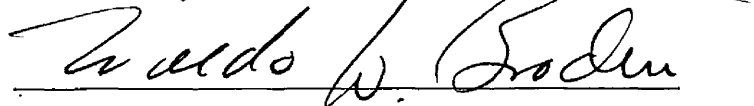
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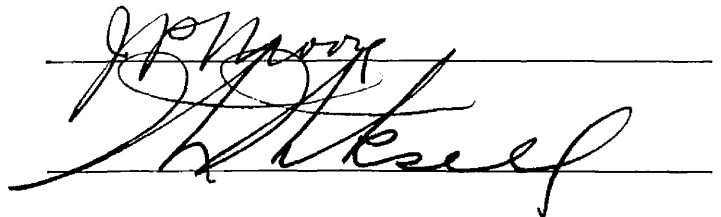
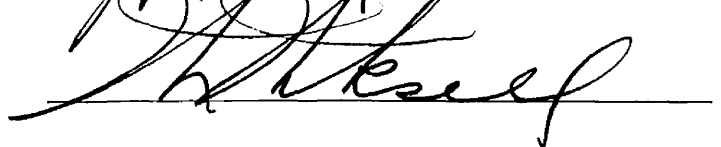

Major Professor and Chairman


Dean of the Graduate School

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:



Date of Examination: **May 5, 1953**